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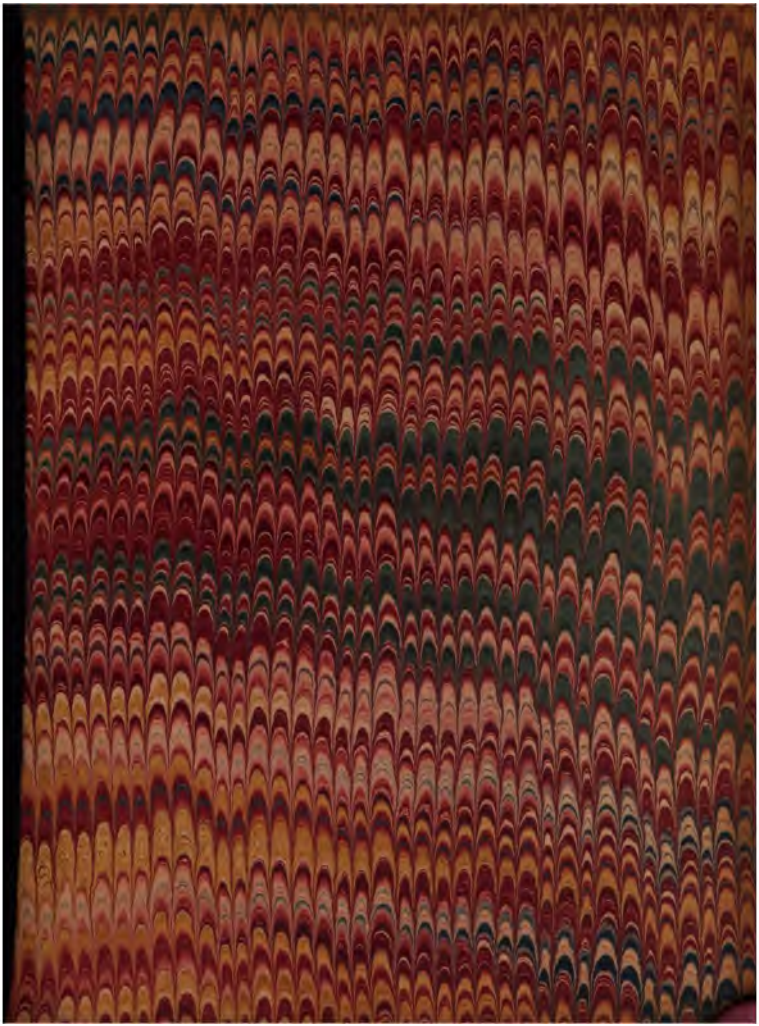
GUICCIARDINI'S

MAXIMS.

James Walter.



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THE MAXIMS OF FRANCIS GUICCIARDINI.

FRANCIS GUICCIARDINI.

THE

MAXIMS

OF

FRANCIS GUICCIARDINI.

TRANSLATED BY EMMA MARTIN.

WITH PARALLEL PASSAGES FROM THE WORKS OF MACHIAVELLI, LORD BACON, PASCAL, ROCHEFOUCAULT, MONTESQUIEU, MR. BURKE, PRINCE TALLEYRAND, M. GUIZOT, AND OTHERS.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1845.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF FRANCIS GUICCIARDINI.

FRANCIS GUICCIARDINI, the celebrated Historian of Italy, was born in Florence, March 6,[1] 1482, of an illustrious Florentine House, renowned both for the military and civil dignities of its Ancestors, and for its large and ancient territorial possessions.

Piero Guicciardini, the Father of the His-

[1] The Festival of St. Thomas Aquinas, in whose honour Guicciardini received the additional name of Thomas at his Baptism.

torian, among other Offices of State with which he was charged, had maintained the reputation of his Family for eloquence and of Florence for her Orators, as Ambassador to Pope Leo the Tenth. His Father, Jacopo Guicciardini, had distinguished himself as a General in routing the Papal Forces about to attack Florence in 1479.[2] The honours acquired by three of the brothers of Francis Guicciardini, Luigi, Jacopo, and Girolamo, bear out what he has recorded, page 148, Maxim 148, that his Father was held "yea, as an example in Florence of a Father whom Heaven had most richly gifted in his Sons."

Ludovico, the son of Jacopo Guicciardini, was long in the service of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and died at Antwerp in 1589. He wrote a Description of the Low Countries, which Tiraboschi tells us was in high repute, for its remarkable exactness; and Commentaries on the

[2] Machiavelli. Istorie Fiorentine, tomo ii. libro viii. p. 395. 1796.

Affairs of Europe from 1529 to 1560. He also published at Antwerp, in 1585, a collection of Precepts of State,[3] extracted from Guicciardini's History of Italy, which are sometimes confounded (even by Bayle[4]) with Guicciardini's Maxims.[5]

The studies of Guicciardini, especially in Jurisprudence, were most carefully conducted under the first Masters in Italy, first in Florence and then in Ferrara, whither his Father sent him, he

[3] I Precetti, e le Sentenzie più notabili in materia di Stato di M. Francesco Guicciardini. Antwerp. 1585.

[4] Dictionnaire Historique. Tome iii. p. 160. Amsterdam, 1734.

[5] Più Consigli e Avvertimenti di M. Francesco Guicciardini in materia pubblica e privata. Paris. 1576.

Two other Collections of Counsels from Guicciardini's History of Italy were also made in the seventeenth Century, one, "Avvertimenti dell' Istoria," by Ciro da Spontone, Bergamo, 1608; the other, "Aforismi politici, cavati dall' Istoria d'Italia di M. Francesco Guicciardini," by Girolamo Canini d'Anghiari, Venice, 1625.—Apostolo Zeno. Note to Fontanini's Biblioteca dell' Eloquenza Italiana. Tomo ii. p. 212. Venice, 1753.

says,[6] "in order to have a place of refuge for his property, if there should arise a Revolution of the State in Florence, or any movement dangerous to liberty from without." Large sums of money were indeed intrusted by his Father to his charge in Ferrara, "and though," he adds, "I was young and uncurbed by any, I straitly accounted to him for all."

Guicciardini, after passing a year in Ferrara, pursued his studies for three years in Padua, and at this time the aspiring mind of the future Statesman and Historian had nearly sought the scene of its conscious future greatness in the Church. "My Uncle," he tells us, "M. Rinieri Guicciardini, Archdeacon of Florence and Bishop of Cortona, died at this time; he had revenues from his Benefices of about fifteen

[6] In his Manuscript Recollections, quoted by Domenico Maria Manni, the accomplished Florentine printer, in his Life of Guicciardini, prefixed to the Venice edition of Guicciardini's History of Italy, 1738.

hundred ducats, and many thinking in his long illness that he would renounce them in my favour, and I desiring this, not to idle with the revenues, ... but because I thought, being young, and not without learning, it might be a foundation to raise myself to rank in the Church, and to hope one day to be a Cardinal . . . . . Finally, nothing was done, for my Father would at no hand have a Son a Priest, although he had five, thinking the Church in great disorder, and choosing rather to lose such great present vantage, and the hope of making a Son a Chief, than to stain his Conscience by making a Son a Priest through love of lucre or of greatness, and this was the true reason which wrought upon him, and I contented myself with it the best I could."

The honours of Guicciardini in the profession of the Law were rapid and high. The Signoria of Florence appointed him, in his twenty-third year, a few days before he had taken his Degree as Doctor of Laws, to the Chair of Civil Law,

in which he gained such reputation that he devoted himself wholly to the practice of the Law, and soon obtained some of the dignities of his profession, being made Advocate of the Florentine Capitol, "a thing of great honour," he says, "for it had always been held by the chiefest Lawyers in Florence."

The powers of Guicciardini in matters of State-policy were quickly brought into honourable action. He was made Ambassador from Florence to King Ferdinand of Arragon before he had attained the years required by the Laws of Florence for any of her Magistracies,[7] in the year 1511, when Florence hesitated whether to join France against Spain, or to stand Neutral, which she decided on.[8] He hesi-

[7] Guicciardini. Istorie d'Italia, tomo iv. libro x. p. 195. Florence, 1818.

[8] We have the reflections of Guicciardini on the Neutrality of a small State in the contentions of two great Powers, preserved, page 76, Maxim 68, "I commend him who stands Neutral in the Wars of his Neighbours, if he be so powerful, &c."

tated to accept, at his age, so important a Charge, but the instances of his Father determined him, and at Burgos, where King Ferdinand then held his Court, he maintained for two years, the high and ancient renown of Florence for the Ambassadors she sent forth.

Some of the glories reflected on Florence by her Ambassadors at different periods of her History are recorded in painting in the Gallery of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence.

There are the portraits of three of the twelve Citizens of Florence who met as Ambassadors from different Courts to Pope Boniface the Eighth, who exclaimed in wonder that the Florentines were the Fifth Element of the World.[9]

There are the portraits of three of the House of the Strozzi, at one time Ambassadors from different Princes to Venice on the same Affair.[10]

There is commemorated the high spirit of

[9] Manni. Azioni Gloriose degli Uomini Illustri Fiorentini.

[10] Ibid.

Piero Capponi, one of her four Citizens chosen by Florence to treat with King Charles the Eighth of France, who, wroth at the arrogance of the King's demands, snatched the parchment on which they were written and tore it before the King, crying out, "Do you sound your Trumpets and we will ring our Bells:"[11] those Bells of Florence, one of which, Machiavelli tells us, the Florentines used to ring for a whole month before they went to War, that their enemies might be aware of the preparations they were making; "with such generosity of spirit did they rule themselves, that where now darting upon an enemy unawares is held a gallant and a discreet thing, it was then held a scandalous and a mistaken one."[12]

On Guicciardini's return, he was one of the

[11] Guicciardini. Tomo i. libro i. p. 117.

[12] Machiavelli. Tomo i. libro ii. p. 97.

Guicciardini has recorded one of his observations on the policy of King Ferdinand of Arragon, page 66, Maxim 60. "When I was Ambassador in Spain, &c."

six of her chief Citizens whom the Republic sent to Cortona to greet Leo the Tenth on his approach to Florence, which he entered, for the first time as Pope, with great magnificence. The Pope, who, as every body knows, could recognize and reward rare talent, quickly drew Guicciardini to his service, and perceiving where the powers of his genius lay, created him Governor of two of his Cities, Modena and Reggio.

The observations of the practised Statesman, page 139, Maxim 135, ". . . . whosoever doth lose a Beginning, though it be small, doth often lose the introduction and admittance to great Things," and page 83, Maxim 78, "Let him who would be employed, beware of letting the possession of Business be drawn away from him; for one thing doth give occasion to another . . ." are confirmed by the rise of his own dignities.

The Government of Parma was given to him three years from this time by the Cardinal Giulio de Medici, afterwards Pope Clement the

Seventh.[13] At the Siege of Parma, Guicciardini's spirit had in vain given to Prospero Colonna the counsel to be found at page 112, Maxim 109, not "to draw back from apparent and honourable enterprizes through fear of every danger which he doth know to be upon the road."[14]

The military talents of Guicciardini were distinguished in his defence of Parma, which the French attempted to reconquer.[15] He retained his Governments through the short Pontificate of Adrian the Sixth; Clement the Seventh added to them the dignity of President of Romagna in the first year of his Pontificate, and three years afterwards, in 1526, that of Lieutenant General of the Pontifical Forces.

In the Autumn of 1526, at the Siege of Cremona, Guicciardini received the news of the truce between the Pope and the Emperor Charles

[13] Guicciardini. Tomo v. libro xiv. pp. 293. 296.
[14] Ibid. p. 265. [15] Ibid. p. 296.

the Fifth, when St. Peter's itself was pillaged by the troops of the Colonnas. A long expected reinforcement of the troops of the Marquess of Saluzzo was to arrive at the Camp the next day.[16] Guicciardini might well record the advice he has given to the Governors of besieged Towns, page 78, Maxim 70, to "set great store upon every thing which may delay, *etiam* but for a little, the Enemy, because often one day, or one hour, brings some chance which may deliver."

The Government of Bologna was next bestowed by Pope Clement the Seventh upon Guicciardini, in 1531, the first time any one but a Prelate had borne it; "a thorny charge," says Comiari,[17] "for that City was yet burning with the spirit of the liberty she had lost but a

[16] Ibid. tomo vi. libro xvi. p. 336. Sismondi. Histoire des Républiques Italiennes. Tome xv. p. 223. Paris. 1826.

[17] I Secoli della Letteratura Italiana, volume iv. p. 224. Brescia, 1804—1813.

few years, and ready to kick against any Foreign yoke. Yet Guicciardini could make the Pontifical Government which he represented beloved."

The Emperor met the Pope at Bologna, in 1532, to conclude a Treaty, and Guicciardini, the favourite of both Sovereigns, was one of the three chosen by the Pope to conduct the negociations.[18] Tradition relates that the courtiers of Charles the Fifth complained to him that he refused audience to them, while he conversed whole hours with Guicciardini, and that the Emperor replied, "I can create a hundred Grandees of Spain in an instant, but not one Guicciardini in a Century."[19]

The reputation of Guicciardini as a Governor exactly accords with the judgments he has given in his Maxims, pp. 37, 38, 39, 40. The dignity

[18] Guicciardini. Tomo vii. libro xx. p. 260.

[19] Biographie Universelle. Tome xix. p. 72. Conversations-Lexikon. Leipzig 1834.

and firmness so remarkable in his writings were shewn on his departure from Bologna on the death of Pope Clement the Seventh, in 1534. He was warned of the dreaded vengeance of the Family of the Pepoli, who had sought to wrest the City from the Pope, who now shewed the triumph they expected, and whom his stern justice had offended anew; but, attended by few horsemen, he rode out of Bologna at noon-day, and not changing his road, passed the Palace of the Pepoli, from which none stirred out.[20]

Guicciardini returned to Florence, where he was welcomed with the highest honour by Alexander, the first Duke of the House of the Medici, whom his counsels had much aided in raising to the Sovereignty of Florence in 1532;[21] and who quickly profited by his services on his return; for when, next year, the Duke was summoned to Naples, to answer before the Emperor the complaints of the Exiles of Florence,

[20] Manni. [21] Sismondi. Tome xvi. p. 83.

Guicciardini, who attended him, replied point by point to the accusations brought against him, and procured a decision in his favour.[22]

On the assassination of Alexander de' Medici, in 1537, Guicciardini was mainly instrumental in giving the Sovereignty of Florence to Cosmo de' Medici, the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, and drew up the conditions to be accepted by the Senators. Sismondi says, "Guicciardini qui avoit surtout décidé son élection ne doutoit pas de son autorité sur ce jeune homme sans expérience, . . . il croyoit être devenu lui-même le vrai souverain de Florence. Mais jamais jeune homme ne trompa autant que Cosme de Médicis l'attente universelle; . . . . . il répoussoit tout partage de son pouvoir avec la jalousie la plus soupçonneuse."[23]

Guicciardini, however, remained for some time attached to him, but finding his counsels set

[22] Sismondi. Tome xvi. p. 93.
[23] Sismondi. Tome xvi. pp. 102—105.

at nought, he at last resigned his office, and retired to his villa at Montici, renowned for its beauty, where he devoted himself to writing his immortal History of Italy. He ended his life in this retreat, May 22,[24] 1540, at the age of fifty-eight, and his death is said to have been hastened by disappointment at the untoward result of his political exertions.

He was interred, at his own desire, without pomp, funeral oration, or epitaph, in the Choir of the ancient Church of Santa Felicita in Florence, where the dignities of the Guicciardini Family are conspicuous in their Arms and where two monumental inscriptions to the memory of the great Historian were added, one in the seventeenth, the other in the eighteenth Century, to the honourable records of their House.

Guicciardini married Maria, the daughter of Alamanno Salviati, "without comparison the

[24] Tiraboschi. Storia della Letteratura Italiana. Tomo vii. note p. 270. Rome. 178?.

first person in the City,"[25] three of his seven daughters survived him; two married into the distinguished Family of the Capponi, the third into that of the Pucci.

There is a contemporary portrait of Guicciardini, by Vasari, in the Chamber of Cosmo the First in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence;[26] his portrait was also placed, in the seventeenth Century, by the Grand Duke Ferdinand the Second, among those of Historians in the left Corridor, and among those of Men of Letters in the right Corridor of the Gallery of the Palazzo Vecchio.[27]

Guicciardini was not permitted to enjoy the pleasures of the publication of his History, those pleasures which are described with frank elegance by Mr. Gibbon, in an egotism too interesting to be selfish, and with such agreeable naïveté by Mr. Hume. Agnolo, the son of his brother

[25] Guicciardini. Manuscript Recollections.
[26] Manni. [27] Manni. Azioni Gloriose.

Girolamo, Ambassador to Pope Pius the Fifth, published the first sixteen Books in 1561, twenty-one years after the Historian's death, and the four following, which were left unfinished, three years afterwards. A fine and celebrated edition was published at Venice in 1738.

Quadrio speaks of a Poem of Guicciardini in terza rima, with the title "Supplicazione d'Italia al Cristianissimo Re Francesco I."[28]

The theory that size is essential to greatness of effect is supported by the grand and graceful periods of Guicciardini's History of Italy. A mournful tone regarding rather the future than the past, is rendered more impressive from the admirable judgment of his narrations; but there is nothing of that grave irony which gives sometimes an unexpected charm to the thoughtful and feeling pages of Machiavelli.

The popular idea of Guicciardini's prolixity

[28] Della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poesia. Volume ii. p. 624. Milan. 1741.

is much owing to the wicked wit of Trajano Boccalini, with which it is impossible not to be diverted.

Boccalini, who lived half a Century after Guicciardini, tells us[29] that a Lacedemonian Littérateur, for the crime of having said in three words what he might have said in two, was condemned by the Senate of Sparta to read Guicciardini's War of Pisa. The wretched Spartan read one page, but, insupportably wearied by such "harangues on the taking of every Dovecote," entreated that his punishment might be commuted for any other torment, for it was more cruel than any that the most ingenious artist had ever devised for the most monstrous tyrant.

But the satirist has himself not been permitted to escape just criticism. Tiraboschi says of the Ragguagli,[30] "Perhaps they had not

[29] Ragguagli di Parnaso. Ragguaglio vi. p. 30. Venice. 1630.

[30] Tomo viii. p. 343.

enjoyed such vogue, had not the biting and satirical traits sprinkled through them been a charm to many readers. Certain it is that the judgments Boccalini gives in these Advices are not always the most equitable, or conformable to truth." And Mazzuchelli says,[31] "In the judgment he passes on authors he is accused of great caprice, and of having been led away by his imagination."

Guicciardini did not amass a private fortune from the high public Offices he had borne. His whole fortune was, we learn from Machiavelli's Letters to him, twelve thousand florins, "the whole fruit of your perils and labours;"[32] and the portion of his eldest daughter was only half the dower required by the Family with whom Machiavelli sought to ally her.

The friendly and prudent counsels of Machia-

[31] Gli Scrittori d' Italia. Tomo ii. p. 1378. Brescia. 1753—1763.

[32] Opere di Niccolo Machiavelli. Volume viii. Lettera lx. p. 179. Italia. 1813.

velli to his high-spirited friend are exceedingly interesting. They afford a perfect specimen in private life of the policy which is unravelled so skilfully by Machiavelli in his admirable works. He advises Guicciardini to have recourse to the Pope to assist him, and tells him that Filippo Strozzi and Paolo Vettori had so acted, and received great largesses; had Guicciardini been first to break the ice in that quarter, he had not counselled it, but as two persons of such quality and merit had done so, he advises him to do it boldly. He recommends him to write thus to the Pope,[33] "You well know that if men accomplish ten honourable undertakings, and thereafter do fail in one, especially if it be a thing important, it striketh all the rest to nought; . . . . ." One of Guicciardini's own Maxims agrees with the counsel of Machiavelli, page 133, Maxim 130, "Do every thing so thou come not off the Loser, ..."

[33] Ibid. p. 177.

Machiavelli adds, " Every thing lies in asking boldly, and shewing ill liking if you obtain not; and Princes readily grant new favours where they have granted old ones, rather, they so fear, if they deny, losing the good of what has been done, they are forward to grant them, if they be asked as I would have you ask this. You are discreet." Guicciardini has recorded the same opinion, page 139, Maxim 135. " Thou, who dost follow a Court Life, and attach thyself to a Great Man, ... endeavour continually to keep in his sight, because occasions hourly arise, which he doth commit to him whom he sees, . . "

In another Letter, Machiavelli replies to the scruples of his friend,[34] " I cannot deny that your doubts are sound, and wisely handled; yet will I tell you a notion of mine own, that men err as much through being too wise, as through the contrary; rather, the contrary is often much

[34] Opere di Niccolo Machiavelli. Volume viii. Lettera lxi. (December 19th, 1525, Florence) p. 181.

the best." This Italian opinion Guicciardini also sanctions, p. 45, Maxim 39, Note from Lord Bacon.

Machiavelli continues, "Let me remind you of that counsel Romeo gave to the Duke of Provence, who had four daughters:—he advised him to marry the eldest nobly, telling him she would lead the dance to the others; so that Duke married her to the King of France, and gave her half Provence for her dowry. So that with small dowry he married the three others to three Kings, whence Dante says,

> Quattro figlie ebbe, e ciascuna regina,
> Della qual cosa al tutto fu cagione
> Romeo persona umile e peregrina."[35]

The interest taken by Guicciardini in this

[35] Del Paradiso, canto vi. line 133. Margaret, the eldest daughter of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, married King Louis the Ninth (St. Louis) of France; Eleonora, the second, King Henry the Third of England; Sancha, the third, his brother Richard, King of the Romans; Beatrice the fourth, Charles King of

appropriate legend led to the famous passage in his answer to Machiavelli, so often quoted to prove the rarity of the works of Dante, with a commentary, in the sixteenth Century,[36] "You have made me seek for a Dante all through Romagna, to find the fable or the romance of Romeo, and at length I have found the original, but there was no comment. I think it one of those things with which you are always ready;" Guicciardini adds, with the taste for the use of Latin words which may be noticed in his Maxims, "*sed ad rem nostram*, your counsels are *apud me tanti ponderis*, that they need not the authority of others;" yet still reluctant, he

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Naples and Sicily, brother of St. Louis. Anderson's Genealogies. London. 1736.

Henry, the son of Richard King of the Romans, was slain at Viterbo by the sons of Simon de Montfort, in the Church of San Lorenzo was pierced "Lo cuor che'n su Tamigi ancor si côla." Dante. Dell'Inferno, canto xii. line 120.

[36] Lettera lxii. (December 26th, 1525, Faenza) p. 183.

adds, that just now for a month or two he thinks it no good time for such an Affair, as Arms are but suspended, so he will have time to think of it ripely.

The shrewd sense of Machiavelli again presses the point, though it does not appear with success. He replies to Guicciardini,[37] "As long as I can recollect, there was either War, or talk of War; now it is talked of, and bye and bye it will be acted; and when it is done, it will be talked of again; so there will never be time for thinking of anything; and in my mind, these times are more to your purpose than quiet ones, for if the Pope means to set on any one, or fears being set upon, he will have need, and great need of you, and so must have a mind to gratify you."[38]

Circumstances like these, and the interchange

[37] Lettera lxiii. (January 3d, 1525), p. 185.

[38] Guicciardini himself counsels to the same purpose, page 141, Maxim 138, "Thou mayest count more certainly upon one who hath need of thee . . . ."

of thought between two such exalted and experienced minds, in such times of the contentions of equals and the patronage of the powerful, gave the first idea and form to the Maxims of Guicciardini.

For the preservation of Guicciardini's Maxims we are much indebted to the admirable zeal for the literature of his Country, of Jacopo Corbinelli,[39] who reprinted the Maxims, with notes of

[39] Jacopo Corbinelli was born at Florence, and went to France in the time of Catherine de' Medici, to whom he was allied, and to whom he dedicated his reprint of Guicciardini's Maxims. The Queen placed him about her third son, the Duke of Anjou, afterwards King Henry the Third of France, "comme un homme de bonnes lettres et de bons conseils."* Corbinelli signalized his talents in the Cabinet as well as in literature; his integrity stood in the highest rank; he was honoured with the warm friendship of the great Chancellor l'Hôpital; he was the generous patron of men of letters, and of great service to King Henry the Fourth of France;

* Bayle. Tome ii. p. 522.

his own, in Paris, in 1576. Manni says, they were first published "quando che sia;" the author of the article on Guicciardini in the Biographie Universelle informs us that it was at Antwerp, in 1525.[40] One of the Maxims is dated February 3, 1523.

Jean Corbinelli, the Grandson of Jacopo, was distinguished for his wit, gaiety, and literary talents in the Age of Louis the Fourteenth. He was endeared to the most brilliant society of the times during a life which lasted upwards of a century. The republication of Guicciardini's Maxims by his Grandfather may be justly supposed to have given the direction to his own taste in letters, for all his own publi-

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his portrait is near the King's in the Gallery of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, in the compartment of Statesmen.†

[40] Biographie Universelle. Tome xix. p. 73.

† Manni. Azioni Gloriose.

cations were Maxims, and selections from different writers; even his "Sentiments d'Amours tirez des meilleurs poëtes modernes," 1665. He also published "Extraits de tous les plus beaux endroits des ouvrages des plus célèbres auteurs de ce temps," 1681, and "Les anciens historiens Latins reduits en Maximes," 1694. He rivalled what he admired, for he piqued himself on having had great part in the composition of the Maxims of Rochefoucault, and had with many the credit of the peculiar turn which made the fortune of that brilliant work. A Maxim he owned has been preserved to us by Fontenelle, who says he learned from Jean Corbinelli, "Tenir peu de place et en changer peu."[41] He was the attached friend of Madame de Sevigné, who speaks of his amiable character with great regard in her Letters, in some of which

[41] Moreri. Grand Dictionnaire Historique. Tome iv. p. 115. Paris, 1759. Biographie Universelle. Tome ix. p. 562.

are passages of his. True to his hereditary taste, he accuses Madame de Grignan of forgetting "*les belles maximes*;"[42] Madame de Sevigné most happily calls him, from his varied and amusing talents, "*un homme à facettes.*"[43] He died in 1716.

Guicciardini's Maxims were translated into French by Charles de Chantecler, and published at Paris the year after Jacopo Corbinelli's republication of them.[44] The originals were republished at Venice the year following, 1578,[45] by Francesco Sansovino, a printer of Florence, son of the celebrated architect Jacopo Sansovino, "born to be first, save where was Michael Angelo,"[46] with the Maxims of Lottini and others collected and written by himself.

[42] Lettres de Madame de Sevigné. Tome iii. Lettre 229, p. 57. Amsterdam, 1756.

[43] Ibid. Tome iv. Lettre 361, p 177.

[44] Bayle. Tome iii. p. 160.

[45] Apostolo Zeno. Note to Fontanini, Tomo ii. p. 211, 212.

[46] Temanza. Tiraboschi. Tomo viii. p. 439.

Sansovino says of Guicciardini, in a preface to his Collection,[47] "Every one doth know that when he was in the field he opened all letters, the Pope's as well as all other Princes, that passed through his hands, and changed and corrected them as he thought affairs required it, and this with those Princes' consent, as knowing his judgment and prudence . . . . . He wrote also these Maxims, very pithy, and laid down by him through long experience as of certain truth."[48]

[47] Propositioni ovvero considerazioni in materia di cose di Stato. Venice, 1608.

[48] It is proper to notice a note of Corniari, volume iv. p. 255, "Se si deve prestar fede a Francesco Sansovino, il Guicciardini compose separatamente dalla sua Storia una serie di *Avvertimenti*, ... Rinforza mia diffidenza il vedere che gli accennati *Avvertimenti* non sono stati rammemorati nè dal Tiraboschi, nè dal Fontanini, nè dall' accuratissimo Zeno tra le Opere del Guicciardini." It is sufficient to point out the extraordinary inaccuracy of this statement. Tiraboschi, after speaking of Guicciardini's History of Italy, recommends consulting for his

Frà Remigio next republished Guicciardini's Maxims at Venice, in 1582, as an Appendix to his "Considerazioni civili sopra l'Istoria di Francesco Guicciardini."[49] A second edition of Sansovino's Collection appeared in 1588;[50] a Latin translation of Guicciardini's Maxims, with the title of Hypomneses Politicæ, in 1589;[51] a third

other works Fontanini's Biblioteca dell' Eloquenza Italiana, with the notes of Apostolo Zeno, and the Catalogue of the Capponi Library, "io lascio che ognun consulti . . . ." Tomo vii. p. 272; Fontanini speaks of Guicciardini's Maxims among his works, Tomo ii. p. 212; Apostolo Zeno speaks of them in two of his admirable notes, praises them as "for the most part axioms of sound policy," and mentions four editions, ibid. pp. 211, 212; the Catalogue of the Capponi Library speaks of them among Guicciardini's works, and mentions also four editions of the originals (two different from those mentioned by Zeno) and the French and Latin translations, p. 210. Rome, 1747.

[49] Catalogo della Libreria Capponi, p. 210. Apostolo Zeno. Note to Fontanini, Tomo ii. p. 211.

[50] Catalogo della Libreria Capponi, p. 210.

[51] Ibid. Bayle. Tome iii. p. 160.

edition of Sansovino's Collection in 1598:[52] and a fourth in 1608.[53]

This manner of writing Maxims of state and domestic policy, which afterwards became a fashion with the lively imagination of France, touching the affairs of society, and then describing the Characters of which that society was composed, had its origin in the thoughtful minds of Italy and England, in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries, in times when constant Wars, disputed successions to Thrones, and the dangers to which great Families were exposed from the jealousy of Sovereigns, made all men intent on securing the safety and honour of their Country and their Families.

The Maxims of the practised Statesman Guicciardini may be said to approach the breadth and depth of Bacon, the worldly wisdom and

[52] Catalogo della Libreria Capponi, p. 210.

[53] Apostolo Zeno. Note to Fontanini, Tomo ii. p. 212.

long experience of Lord Burleigh, the detail and temper of Rochefoucault, combined with the peculiar tone of politics, the subtlety, revenge, and ambition of Italy in the Middle Ages.

THE MAXIMS OF FRANCIS GUICCIARDINI.

ALL agree that it is better to live under the rule of One, when it is good, than under that of a Few or of Many, being good; also they conclude, that the rule of One doth readily from good become worse, which is not essential to the others, and that being bad, it is the worst of all, and the more so when it doth descend by Order of Succession; because it rarely happens that a wise and virtuous Father hath a Son like 1.

himself. Wherefore I wish that these Politicians had declared, all these conditions and dangers being taken into account, what fate were the most to be desired by a City, whether to fall under the rule of One, or of Many, or of a Few.

Montesquieu.

MAIS dans un Etat populaire il faut un ressort de plus, qui est la VERTU.

L'Esprit des Loix. Livre iii. chap. iii. *Du principe de la Démocratie.*

NON; s'il manque d'un ressort, il en a un autre. L'honneur, c'est-à-dire, le préjugé de chaque personne et de chaque condition, prend la place de la vertu, et la représente par-tout; il y peut inspirer les plus belles actions; il peut, joint à la force des Loix, conduire au but du Gouvernement comme la vertu même.

Livre iii. chap. vi. *Comment on supplie à la Vertu dans le Gouvernement Monarchique.*

COMME il faut de la vertu dans une République, et dans une Monarchie de l'honneur, il faut de

la crainte dans un Gouvernement Despotique: pour la vertu elle n'y est point nécessaire, et l'honneur y seroit dangereux.

Livre iii. chap. ix. *Du principe du Gouvernement Despotique.*

Montesquieu.

So that discreet Lawgivers . . . . fleeing each of these methods by itself, chose one which had a tincture of all, ... because one doth guard the other, there being in the same City the Government of the Prince, of the Nobles, and of the People.

Discourses on Livy, book i. chap. ii.

Machiavelli.

LIBERTY in Republics ministers to Justice, because it is established to no other end, than to prevent the oppression of one man by another. Wherefore, if a man could be certain, that under the Government of One, or of a Few, Justice should be ob-

2.

served, he would have no reason to wish for Liberty. This is the reason that the ancient Sages and Philosophers did not commend those Governments more than others, which practised Liberty, but those in which the best provision was made for the preservation of the Laws, and for Justice in all things.

Montesquieu.

Enfin chacun a appellé *Liberté* le Gouvernement qui étoit conforme à ses coutumes, ou à ses inclinations; . . . . . et on a confondu le pouvoir du Peuple avec la Liberté du Peuple.

Livre xi. chap. ii. *Diverses Significations données au nom de Liberté.*

Il est vrai que dans les Démocraties, le peuple paroît faire ce qu'il veut: mais la liberté politique ne consiste point à faire ce que l'on veut.

Livre xi. chap. iii. *Ce que c'est que la Liberté.*

. . . . l'independence de chaque particulier est

l'objet des Loix de Pologne, et ce qui en résulte l'oppression de tous.

Livre xi. chap. v. *De l'Objet des Etats divers.*

3.

IN a popular Government it is convenient that the Families such as our own, should support the great Families; because, as they are odious to the People, we thus gain favour from all, whereas, if they were destroyed, the hatred of the People toward them, would all be directed upon us.

4.

ALL States have their origin in violence, to one who looks narrowly at it, excepting Republics; and these in their own Country and no farther; neither do I see any Legitimate

Power, not even that of the Emperor, which is in such great authority, that it doth decide upon the rights of others; because there was no Usurpation so great as that of the Romans, who usurped the Empire; neither do I exempt from this rule the Priesthood, whose violence is double, inasmuch as it is doubled in holding men under Corporeal and under Spiritual Authority.

Guizot. A L'ORIGINE de tous les pouvoirs, je dis de tous indistinctement, on recontre la force.

Histoire Générale de la Civilization en Europe. Leçon iii.

Pascal. CE chien est à moi, disoient ces pauvres enfants; c'est là ma place au soleil: voilà le commencement et l'image de l'usurpation de toute la terre.

Pensées, Première Partie, Article ix. liii.

IT seems, as though Princes should be more free, and more masters of their own will, than other men; but it is not so with Princes who act wisely, because they are compelled to proceed with infinite cautions and circumspections, in such wise that they often do violence to their own wishes, and desires, and designs; and I have myself observed and seen many instances of this. 5.

IL y a des cas où la puissance doit agir dans toute sa étendue; il y en a où elle doit agir par ses limites. *Montesquieu.*

Livre xii. chap. xxv. *De la maniere de gouverner dans la Monarchie.*

6. WHOSOEVER hath Power and Authority, may push forward, and stretch it even beyond its strength, because thy Subjects do not see, neither compute exactly, what thou canst or canst not do; but often thinking thy Power greater than the truth, rush and hurry upon such things as thou shouldest never have been able to force them to.

7. A PRINCE who is inclined to prodigality is doubtless more beloved than one inclined to parsimony, yet it ought to be contrariwise. Because a prodigal Prince is driven to extortions and violent seizures, whereas a niggardly Prince takes from no man; and they which suffer from the oppressions of the Prodigal are more in number than

they which benefit by his liberality. The reason is therefore, in my judgment, that Hope hath more power in men than Fear; and those are more in number which hope to obtain some bounty from him, than those which fear to be oppressed.

. . . . so that he is liberal to all those from whom he takes nothing, and they are Infinite; and niggard to all those to whom he gives nothing, and they are Few.

The Prince, chap. xvi. — *Machiavelli.*

On ne peut donner beaucoup au Peuple sans retirer encore plus de lui;

Livre viii. chap. ii. — *Montesquieu.*

IF we hear or read of any man, that, without any convenience or profit of his own, he loved Vice rather than Virtue, such is to be called a 8.

brute, and not a man; wanting the quality proper to man.

Lord Bacon.

Goodness I call the Habit, and Goodness of Nature the Inclination. This of all Virtues and Dignities of the mind is the greatest, being the Character of the Deity; and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of Vermin.

Essays, xiii. *Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature.*

9.

LL men are naturally virtuous, that is to say, that where they derive no pleasure nor benefit from Vice, Virtue is more delightful to them than Vice. But the various corruptions of the World, and their own frailty, cause that they readily and often, through self-interest, incline toward Vice. Where-

fore wise Lawgivers invented rewards and punishments as the foundation of their Republics, not to force men toward either; but that they should follow their natural inclination.

For as there is need of Laws that Good Manners may be preserved, so there is need of Good Manners that Laws may be observed.

Discourses on Livy, book i. chap. xviii. — *Machiavelli.*

Ce Tribunal maintenoit les mœurs dans la République. Mais ces mêmes mœurs maintenoit ce Tribunal. Il devoit juger non-seulement de la violation des Loix, mais aussi de la violation des mœurs. Or pour juger de la violation des mœurs, il faut en avoir.

. . . . . .

Il est aisé de régler par des Loix ce qu'on doit aux autres; il est difficile d'y comprendre tout ce qu'on se doit à soi-même.

Livre vii. chap. x. — *Montesquieu.*

. . . un Peuple connoît, aime, et défend toujours plus ses mœurs que ses Loix.

Livre x. chap. xi. *Des mœurs du Peuple vaincu.*

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10. IF a man wish to live in Florence enjoying the favour of the People, he must above all things shun the reputation of Ambition, and all show of desiring to appear, *etiam* in frivolous things and in his daily living, greater, or of more pride or delicacy, than others; for in a City, the foundation whereof is Equality, he must needs be odious, of whom they think, that he will not be equal with others.

Montesquieu. L'AMOUR de la République dans une démocratie est celui de la démocratie; l'amour de la démocratie est celui de l'égalité. L'amour de la démocratie est encore l'amour de la frugalité.

Montesquieu.

Chacun devant y avoir le même bonheur et les mêmes avantages, y doit gouter les mêmes plaisirs, et former les mêmes espérances ; chose qu'on ne peut attendre que de la frugalité générale.

Livre v. chap. iii.

L'ARISTOCRATIE mal constituée a ce malheur, que les Nobles y ont des richesses, et que cependant ils ne doivent pas dépenser ; le luxe contraire à l'esprit de modération en doit être banni. Il n'y a donc que des gens très-pauvres, qui ne peuvent pas recevoir, et des gens très-riches, qui ne peuvent pas dépenser.

. . . . . .

Tout ceci mene à une réflexion. Les Républiques finissent par le luxe ; les Monarchies par la pauvreté. Livre vii. chap. iv.

II.

CITY is not to be called unfortunate, which, having flourished for a great while, doth finally decline ; for this is the termination of all Things human ; neither is it to be held Ill

Fortune, to be subjected to those Laws which are common to all. Yet those Citizens are unfortunate whose fate it is to be born rather in the decline of their Country than in the time of its prosperous Fortunes.

Machiavelli.

And I, thinking upon these things, judge the World to have always been alike, and as much good as evil in it; but this evil and this good to vary from Province to Province, ... for where the World had first lodged its virtue in Assyria, it lodged it in Media, then in Persia, so that bye and bye it came to Italy and to Rome; and if after the Roman Empire there succeeded no lasting Empire, nor where the World held its virtue together, yet it is seen scattered in many Nations . . . . . but he who is born in Italy or in Greece, and hath not become either a Tramontane in Italy, or a Turk in Greece, hath reason to blame his own times, and to praise other times.

Discourses on Livy, Introduction to book ii.

Swift.

I HAVE read my friend Congreve's verses to Lord Cobham, which end with a vile and false moral, and I remember it not in Horace to Tibullus, which he imitates, "that all times are equally virtuous and vicious," wherein he differs from all Poets, Philosophers, and Christians that ever writ. It is more probable that there may be an equal quantity of virtue always in the world, but sometimes there may be a peck of it in Asia, and hardly a thimble-full in Europe.

Letter to Lord Bolingbroke.

12.

THE present House of Medici have more trouble, with all their greatness, to complete the dominion of Florence, than their Forefathers had to acquire it, though they were but private Citizens. The reason is, that in those times, the City had not tasted of Liberty, and a free manner of living, but rather, was always kept in hand by a Few;

wherefore he who ruled the State had not the general for his enemy, for it mattered little to them, if they were in hand of one or of another. But the memory of popular Power, and continual Liberty from 1494 to 1512, hath got such hold upon the People, that take away those Few, which in a limited State trust to overtop others, and all the rest are enemies of the Chief of the State, thinking it to be a thing taken from themselves.

13. LET none in Florence think that he is able to make himself Head of the State, except he be of the Family of Cosmo, and even this, to keep itself standing hath need of the Papacy None other, be he who he may, hath so great credit or following that he may look to this, unless, indeed, he were carried in

upon the shoulders of the People, when they lacked a leader, as they did with Piero Soderini. Wherefore let him who aspires to such station, and is not one of the Medici, favour Liberty and the popular Power.

IT is madness for one in Florence who hath not sufficient strength to make himself the Head of the State, so to entangle himself with others, as that his Fortunes must need follow theirs; for the loss therein is beyond bound greater than the gain. Neither let any one put himself in danger of Exile; because, we not being the Heads of Parties, as the Adorni and Fregosi of Genoa, no one cares to come forward to entertain us; so that we remain abroad shorn of reputation and of estate, and must beg our bread; 14.

and the same reason doth teach us so to treat and temporize with the Head of the State, as that he may not look upon us as enemies, nor with suspicion.

Montesquieu. CESAR y ajouta la confiscation des biens, parce que les riches gardant dans l'exil leur patrimoine, ils étoient plus hardis à commettre des crimes. Livre vi. chap. xv.

15. IT turns to our account that Sienna be discreetly governed, when we stand so that we are in no hopes of subduing her; because if her Rulers be discreet they will readily treat with us, neither love to carry War into Tuscany, suffering themselves to be led rather by reason, than carried away by the natural enmity they bear us. But now that we have the Pope on our side, it were better for us that the State were ill-go-

verned, for then it would more readily fall into our hands.

HO doth not see, that if Pope Clement VII. take Ferrara, the chief study of all future Popes will be to make themselves masters of Tuscany? because the kingdom of Naples is too hard, being so powerfully defended. 16.

HAVE often said, that it is more to be admired that the Florentines have acquired their little Territory, than the Venetians, or the other Princes of Italy, their great Dominions, because throughout Tuscany, in every little village, Liberty, and the love of a Republic are firmly rooted, so that every man is opposed to their greatness; 17.

not so in a State that lies among men accustomed to the yoke; for it makes not so much difference to them that one rule more than another, that they should make any long or obstinate resistance. Moreover, the neighbourhood of the States of the Church hath always been, and is still, a great hinderance to us, because this, being so deeply rooted, hath greatly checked the path of our dominion.

Machiavelli.

. . . . all comes from the Venetians not having had the towns near them so obstinate in their defence, as Florence has had, from all the Cities near Venice having been used to live under a Prince, and not free; and they who are accustomed to serve often care little for changing their master, rather they often desire it.

Discourses on Livy, book iii. chap. xii.

But in Republics there is greater hatred, and more thirst for vengeance, and they rest not, nor can rest for the thought of their old Liberty,

so that the surest way is either to destroy them or to dwell in them. *The Prince*, chap. v.

18.

WHEN opinions are contrary in Council, if any one come forward with some middle course, it is almost always favoured, not because the middle course be not worse, for the most part, than extremes, but because the disputants agree more willingly to that than to their opposite; and also the others, either to avoid offence or through want of comprehension, quickly come into that which they think will save dispute.

Machiavelli.

. . . . where authority is equal and opinion divers, things are scarce ever well determined on.

History of Florence, book v.

. . . . in affairs of State the Romans always avoided the middle course, and betook themselves to extremes.

Discourses on Livy, book ii. chap. xxiii.

Montesquieu.

. . . . moi qui crois que l'excès même de la raison n'est pas toujours désirable, et que les hommes s'accommodent presque toujours mieux des milieux que des extremités.

Livre xi. chap. vi. *De la Constitution de l'Angleterre.*

19.

HE was a wise man who counselled Piero Soderini to restore the Medici as private Citizens, because they continually kept up a turmoil among the Exiles, which is the worst of evils for a State, and it took away the reputation of the Medici, both at home and abroad. At home, because returning to Florence, and seeing that they were no greater than others, of themselves they would speedily have gone away again; and abroad, because those Princes which thought they had a great Party within, seeing them returned, and to have no

authority, would have made no more account of them. But such advice as this will never prosper, if it light on no quicker nor bolder man than Piero Soderini.

20.

IT commonly happens in our City that he who is most eager in forwarding another's greatness, this done, quickly becomes his enemy. The cause is said to be, that these being commonly persons of rank, and high spirit, and restless, when another is great they grow suspicious. Another may be added, that such, thinking themselves entitled to much, often require more from him, whom they have helped to rise, than is fitting; which not being yielded to them, they are offended; hence often is hatched enmity, and suspicion on both sides.

From which comes a general rule, such as never,

Machiavelli.

or scarce ever, fails, that he who hath caused another's power, perishes, for he hath caused that power either with his labour or with his strength, and both are suspected by him who hath power. *The Prince*, chap. iii.

21.

WHEN one that hath helped, or hath been cause, that another rise to an high estate, seeks to rule him in such estate, this is the first step toward cancelling the benefit that he hath done him, seeking to use those things for himself he hath first endeavoured that another should have, and he is justified not to endure it; neither for this is he to be called ungrateful.

IT is great vantage, as every man knows, to be in ancient possession in private Things, where Right alters not, and the practice of the Courts, and the way to get a man's own, are ordered, and used every day; but it is greater vantage beyond comparison, in those Things which hang on the Accidents of States, or on the will of those which govern; because not having to contend with immutable Rights, nor with established Judicature, a thousand chances rise up every day, which are easily stirred against thee by one who hath any pretence to oust thee. 22.

IT is a great felicity to be able to live in such manner as that we neither give nor receive offence from any; but if thou bringest thyself into 23.

such a pass that thou must either attack or defend, I counsel thee rather to attack; because that defence is as just, made to prevent offence, as though it were after the offence. But there must be a clear distinction of Cases, neither without cause to think that thou art compelled to attack, neither through Avarice nor Malice, where thou hast not nor canst have suspicion, to be willing, pleading such fear, to justify thine own violence.

Montesquieu.

. . . entre les Sociétés le droit de la défense naturelle entraîne quelquefois la nécessité d'attaquer.

La vie des Etats est comme celle des hommes. Ceux-ci ont droit de tuer dans le cas de la défense naturelle; ceux-là ont droit de faire la guerre pour leur propre conservation.

Livre x. chap. ii. *De la Guerre.*

Machiavelli.

FORTUNE loves better the attacker than the defender. *History of Florence*, book iv.

DO not altogether condemn the Civil Judicature of the Turk, which is rather precipitate than summary; because if a man judge with his eyes shut, it is reasonably to be concluded that he doth dispatch one half of the Causes according to Justice, and free the parties from their expense and loss of time; which things are ill managed in our Courts; for often it would be better for the Suitor that is in the right to have had Judgement pronounced against him at first, than for him, after such heavy charges and troubles; besides, by the perverseness or ignorance of the Judges, and, moreover, by the want of observance of the Laws, white is often made black. 24.

On entend dire sans cesse qu'il faudroit que la justice fut rendue partout comme en Turquie. Il n'y aura donc que les plus ignorans de tous *Montesquieu.*

Montesquieu.

les Peuples qui auront vu clair dans la chose du monde qu'il importe le plus aux hommes de savoir ?

. . . . . .

En *Turquie* où l'on fait très-peu d'attention à la fortune, à la vie, à l'honneur des sujets, on termine promptement d'une façon ou d'autre toutes les disputes. La manière de les finir est indifférente pourvu qu'on finisse.

. . . . . .

Mais dans les Etats modérés, où la tête du moindre Citoyen est considérable, on ne lui ôte son honneur et ses biens qu'après un long examen, on ne lui prive de la vie que lorsque la Patrie elle-même l'attaque, et elle ne l'attaque qu'en lui laissant tous les moyens possibles de la défendre.

Aussi lorsqu'un homme se rend plus absolu,* songe-t-il d'abord à simplifier les Loix. On commence dans cet Etat à être plus frappé des inconvéniens particuliers, que de la liberté des Sujets dont on ne se soucie point de tout.

* César, Cromwell, et tant d'autres.

Montesquieu.

On voit que dans les Républiques il faut pour le moins autant de formalités que dans les Monarchies. Dans l'un et dans l'autre Gouvernement elles augmentent en raison du cas que l'on y fait de l'honneur, de la fortune, de la vie, de la liberté des Citoyens.

Les hommes sont tous égaux dans le Gouvernement Républicain; ils sont égaux dans le Gouvernement despotique: dans le premier, c'est parce qu'ils sont tout; dans le second, c'est parce qu'ils ne sont rien. Livre vi. chap. ii.

Le Gouvernement Monarchique ne comporte pas des Loix aussi simples que le Despotique; il y faut des Tribunaux.

. . . . . .

A mesure que les Jugemens des Tribunaux se multiplient dans les Monarchies, la Jurisprudence se charge de décisions, qui quelquefois se contradisent, ou parce que les Juges qui se succèdent pensent différemment, ou parce que les mêmes affaires sont tantôt bien, tantôt mal défendues, ou enfin par une infinité d'abus qui se glissent dans tout ce qui passe par la main des hommes. C'est un mal nécessaire, que le Légis-

Montesquieu. lateur corrige de tems en tems, comme contraire même à l'esprit des Gouvernemens modérés. Car quand on est obligé de recourir aux Tribunaux; il faut que cela vienne de la nature de la constitution, et non pas des contradictions et de l'incertitude des Loix.

. . . . . .

Le despotisme se suffit à lui-même; tout est vide autour de lui. Aussi lorsque les Voyageurs nous décrivent les pays où il règne, rarement nous parlent-ils de Loix Civiles.

Toutes les occasions de dispute et de procès y sont donc ôtées. C'est ce qui fait en partie qu'on y maltraite si fort les plaideurs: l'injustice de leur demande paroît à découvert, n'étant pas cachée, palliée, ou protégée par une infinité de Loix. Livre vi. chap. i.

Machiavelli. . . . JUDGES must be in number, for few will always do the will of few.

Discourses on Livy, book i. chap. vii.

Montesquieu. *Mais*, dit Machiavel, *peu sont corrompus par peu.* J'adopterais bien la maxime de ce grand homme. Mais comme dans ces cas l'intérêt po-

litique force, pour ainsi dire, l'intérêt civil (car c'est toujours un inconvénient que le Peuple juge lui-même ses offenses) il faut pour y remédier, que les Loix pourvoyent autant qu'il est en elles à la sûreté des particuliers.

Livre vi. chap. v. — *Montesquieu.*

. . . . we must not turmoil about things past, but strictly provide for things future.

History of Florence, book iv. — *Machiavelli.*

THERE is no more mischievous Law for a Republic than one that looks backward.

History of Florence, book iii.

PENDANT que Rome conserva ses principes, les jugemens purent être sans abus entre les mains des Sénateurs: mais quand elle fut corrompue, à quelque Corps que ce fût qu'on transportât les Jugemens, ... on étoit toujours mal.

Livre viii. chap. xii. — *Montesquieu.*

COMME il y en a une infinité de choses sages qui sont menées d'une manière très-folle, il y a aussi des folies qui sont conduites d'une manière très-sage. Livre xxviii. chap. xxv.

Montesquieu.

Les connoissances que l'on a acquises dans quelque pays, et que l'on acquerra dans d'autres sur les regles les plus sûres que l'on puisse tenir dans les jugemens criminels, intéressent le genre humain plus qu'aucune chose qu'il y ait au monde. Livre xii. chap. ii.

25.

IT is a mistake to think that the Laws which are referred to the decision of the Judge are referred to his own will and good pleasure, because the Law hath not chosen to give him the power of remitting itself; but not being able in certain special cases, through the variety of circumstances, to determine of itself exactly, it doth refer itself to the decision of the Judge, that is, to his Conscience, that all things being considered, he may do what appears to him most just and fitting; and he who thinks otherwise deceives himself, because the power of the

Law doth absolve him from rendering any account thereof; and the case not being determinate, he can always find an excuse, but it doth not give him power to bestow the property of any man.

IF thou art in fault, think well thereon, and weigh it well, ere thou go into custody, for though it were a difficult matter to be discovered, yet it is incredible what a Judge, that is diligent and desirous to search out the truth, will think of; and the least loophole shall bring light upon all. 26.

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* This Maxim, on Dissimulation, is omitted. 27.*

28. IT is the nature of a People, as of particular men, to be always wanting to rise above the height on which they stand; wherefore it is prudent to begin by denying them what they first ask; because by granting, thou dost not stop, but rather invite them to ask more, and more boldly, than they did in the beginning; for the more a man drinks the more thirst he hath.

29. THE inclinations and resolutions of the People are so false, and led so much oftener by Chance than by Reason, that he who founds his way of life on nothing more than on the hope of coming to greatness with the People, shews little sense; for if he hit it, it is rather by luck than by wisdom.

30.

WHOSOEVER doth speak of the People doth speak of a madman: for it is a Monster full of confusion and error, and its Judgments are no nearer to the Truth than, Ptolemy tells us, Spain is to the Indies.

Machiavelli.

THE nature of the multitude is no more to be blamed than the nature of Princes, for all alike err, when all have no check upon erring. Of which there are examples enough, both among the Roman Emperors and among other Tyrants and Princes, where is seen as much inconstancy and variability as ever was found in any multitude.

. . . . . .

But as to prudence and as to stability, I say, that the People is more prudent, more stable, and hath better judgment than a Prince. And it is not without reason that the Voice of the People is likened to the Voice of God; for an universal opinion is seen to have extraordinary effects in its prognostications, so that it seems to

Machiavelli.

have a secret virtue in foretelling its own weal and its own woe.

. . . . . .

And in short, to Epilogue this matter, I say: . . . . . a Prince that can do what he will is mad, a People that can do what it will is not wise.

Discourses on Livy, book i. chap. lviii.

31.

IT is certain that no such account is made of Services done to the Commonwealth at large, as of those done to particular persons. Belonging to All, no one holds himself served in especial. Therefore let not him who labours for the Commonwealth hope that they will labour for him in his peril and need; or that, for the memory of his benefits, they will forego any conveniency of their own. Nevertheless, do not so far despise the Service of the Commonwealth, as that when an occasion offer, you lose it; be-

cause so a man comes in good name and favour, which is fruit enough of your labour; besides this, sometime this recollection doth avail, and move him who hath been benefited, though not hotly, as a private benefit, yet as much as is fitting. And they are so many which have this faint impression, that sometime, putting all this gratitude together, it may grow to be a notable thing.

Les hommes fripons en détail, sont en gros de très-honnêtes gens. Livre xxv. chap. ii. *Montesquieu.*

32.

WHOSOEVER hath the Government of a City, or of a People, and would have them strictly ordered, will find, that ordinarily it doth suffice to punish the guilty, as it were, but for a penny in the pound; but he must be sure to punish all. Mercy may be shewed,

excepting in atrocious cases, whereof must be made an example.

Montesquieu. Il fit d'admirables Reglemens; il fit plus, il les fit exécuter.

Livre xxxi. chap. xviii. *Charlemagne.*

Qu'on examine la cause de tous les relâchemens; on verra qu'elle vient de l'impunité des crimes; et non pas de la modération des peines.

Livre vi. chap. xii.

On ne peut faire de grandes punitions, et par conséquant de grands changemens, sans mettre dans les mains de quelques Citoyens un grand pouvoir . . . . . Sous prétexte de la vengeance de la République, on établiroit la tyrannie des vengeurs. Livre xii. chap. xviii.

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33. SUBJECTS cannot be governed well without severity, because the evil nature of men so requires it. But herein must skill be delicately mingled, so that men may believe that

thou hast no delight in cruelty, but only dost employ it through necessity, and for the public welfare.

DO not say that the Governor of a State be not compelled to dip his hand in blood; but I say, that he ought not to do so without a great necessity; and that, for the most part, he loses more than he gains, because not only are those offended who are touched therein, but it is displeasing to the general; and though thou gettest rid of one enemy, or of one obstacle, yet thou hast not destroyed the seed, *cum sit*, that others come in its place; and it is often, as was said of the Hydra, that for one come seven. 34.

WHEREFORE severities ought to be dealt out all at once, that being savoured the less, they may offend the less; benefits ought to be dealt *Machiavelli.*

out very gradually, that they may be savoured the better. *The Prince*, chap. viii.

35. I HAVE said above, that cutting off heads is no security for States; for it doth rather multiply enemies; yet many times States are builded up with blood, as stone towers are with lime. But these contrarieties are not to be distinguished by any rule, and must be left to a man's prudence and discretion. These Maxims are rules, which, in some special case, wherein the reason of the Thing is contrary, have their exception; but which these special cases be, can scarce be taught otherwise, than as I have said.

Machiavelli. And he who takes upon himself a Tyranny, and slayeth not Brutus, and he who makes a

Free State, and slayeth not the sons of Brutus, stands no long time.

Discourses on Livy, book iii. chap. iii.

SHOULD be prompt to seek changes in such forms of Government as displease me, if I had any hope of being able to work them by myself alone; but when I reflect that I must needs first deal with others, and that most commonly with fools and mischievous men, which neither know how to be silent nor how to act themselves, there is nothing which I abhor more than to think thereon. 36.

. . . nations are most commonly saved by the worst men in them. The virtuous are too scrupulous to go the lengths that are necessary to rouse the people against their tyrants. *Horace Walpole.*

Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third, vol. i. pp. 182—183.

Machiavelli.

LET none move change in a City, thinking that he can afterward stay it at his will, or sway it at his liking. *History of Florence*, book iii.

AND as I speak of mixed bodies, as Republics and Religious Orders, I say that those alterations are for their good which lead them back to their first principles . . . . . because the first principles of all Orders, and Republics and Kingdoms must have some virtue, by which they may regain their first reputation and their first growth. And as in process of time that virtue decays, if nothing steps in to lead it back to the mark, that body doth necessarily perish.

Discourses on Livy, book iii. chap. i.

Montesquieu.

COMME les Peuples corrompus font rarement de grandes choses, qu'ils n'ont guere établi de Sociétés, fondé de Villes, donné de Loix, et qu'au contraire ceux qui avoient des mœurs simples ou austères ont fait la plûpart des établissemens; rappeller les hommes aux maximes anciennes, c'est ordinairement les ramener à la vertu. Livre v. chap. vii.

SOUS les bons Empereurs l'Etat reprenoit ses

principes, le trésor de l'honneur suppléoit aux autres trésors. Livre v. chap. xviii. *Montesquieu.*

La corruption de chaque Gouvernement commence presque toujours par celle des principes. Livre viii. chap. i.

Les Etats que l'on conquiert ne sont pas ordinairement dans la force de leur institution. La corruption s'y est introduite; les Loix y ont cessé d'être executées, le Gouvernement est devenu oppresseur . . . . Un Gouvernement parvenu au point où il ne peut plus se réformer lui-même, que perdroit-il à être refondu?
Livre x. chap. iv. *Quelques avantages du Peuple conquis.*

I WOULD in no wise slacken those who, inflamed by the love of their Country, offer themselves to danger to give Her Liberty; but I speak soberly, that he who in our 37.

City doth seek a change in the State for his own gain, the same is not wise. For it is a dangerous thing, and we see that few such undertakings prosper; and even if it chance so, we almost always see that thou dost not gain, no, not by a great way, what thou thoughtest for; and beside this, thou hast bound thyself to a perpetual servitude to troubles, for thou art never sure but that they whom thou hast driven out will return and kill thee.

38. DO not fret thyself about such mutations as bring forth nothing but change of the Vizors and outsides of men; for, what good hast thou, if the same mischief or despite that Piero did thee be done thee by Martino? For example, what pleasure canst thou have in seeing the fall of Ser Giovanni da Poppi,

if in his place come Ser Bernardino da Samminiato?

LET him who would handle Treaties and Alliances beware that nothing doth hazard them more than seeking to make them over fast; because greater time is needed, and more persons must be dealt with, and more matters are implicated; from which causes such practices always come to light; and we may also believe that Fortune, in whose hand are these things, is displeased with those who seek to free themselves from her power, and depend upon themselves alone. Therefore, it is safer to execute them with some danger than with over security. 39.

THIS is well to be weighed, That *Boldness* is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and incon- *Lord Bacon.*

Lord Bacon.

veniences; therefore it is ill in Counsel, good in Execution . . . . . For in Counsel it is good to see Dangers, and in Execution not to see them, except they be very great.

Essays, xii. *Of Boldness.*

THE way of *Fortune* is like the *Milky Way* in the Sky, which is a Meeting or Knot of a number of small Stars, not seen asunder, but giving Light together; So are there a number of little and scarce discerned Virtues, or rather Faculties and Customs that make men *Fortunate.* The *Italians* note some of them, such as a Man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other Conditions that he hath, *Poco di Matto.* And certainly there be not two more *Fortunate* properties than to have a *little* of the *Fool*, and not *too much* of the *Honest.*

Essays, xl. *Of Fortune.*

40.

ONE who knows that he is Fortune's Darling may dart forward upon Adventures with the bolder heart; yet is it to be heeded, that Fortune is not only various, according to the Nature of Times and Seasons, but also, at the same Time, is various in the Nature of the Thing; for he who narrowly observes will see by experience many men to be fortunate in one kind of Things and unfortunate in another. And I, in mine own part, have had until this day of February 3d, 1523, prosperous Fortune in many Things; *tamen* it is not so with me in the Riches or Honours which I seek to obtain, because, seeking them not, they do of their own Nature follow after me, but when I begin to seek them they seem to forsake me.

CERTAINLY there be, whose *Fortunes* are like

Lord Bacon.

Homer's Verses, that have a Slide and Easiness more than the Verses of other Poets, as *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleon's Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agesilaus* or *Epaminondas:* And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a Man's self. *Essays*, xl. *Of Fortune.*

Machiavelli.

I SAY again, this is most true, and all History doth shew it, men may second Fortune, but they cannot thwart her, they may weave her web, but they cannot break it.

Discourses on Livy, book ii. chap. xxix.

41.

I KNOW not if those are justly to be called Fortunate to whom once only a great opportunity of good Fortune doth offer itself; because, if a Man have not prudence, he shall not know how to use it. But doubtless those are truly Fortunate to whom the same great opportunity doth twice come; because there is no Man so little worth, but

that, at the second time, he will know how to use it. Wherefore, in this second case, he is to return all his thanks to Fortune; whereas, in the first, prudence hath her share

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42.

EVEN those who, attributing all to prudence or to desert, study to shut out Fortune cannot deny but that it is a great thing to come into the World at that time, or to chance upon that occasion, in which those parts or virtues wherein thou shinest are acceptable.

Mr. Gibbon.

My lot might have been that of a slave, a savage, or a peasant, nor can I reflect without pleasure on the bounty of Nature, which cast my birth in a free and civilized country, in an age of science and philosophy, in a family of honourable rank, and decently endowed with the gifts of fortune.

Memoirs of my Life and Writings, chap. ii.

Machiavelli.

. . . I think this may be the truth, that Fortune is sole arbitress of one half of our actions, but that she doth yet leave the other half, or near it, to ourselves. *The Prince*, chap. xxv.

FORTUNE indeed doth this: she chuses a Man, when she hath a mind to do great things, of such spirit and capacity that he can recognize the opportunities she offers him.

Discourses on Livy, book ii. chap. xxix.

I HAVE often considered how the cause of Men's good and ill Fortune is how they make their actions march with the Times.

. . . a Man having prospered fairly by one way of acting, it is not possible to persuade him that he would do well to act differently; whence it is that a Man's Fortune varies, because she changes her Times and he doth not change his ways.

Discourses on Livy, book iii. chap. ix.

Lord Bacon.

THEREFORE if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see *Fortune:* For though she be blind, yet she is not invisible.

Overt and Apparent Virtues bring forth

Praise; but there be Secret and Hidden Virtues that bring forth *Fortune.* Certain Deliveries of a Man's self, which have no Name. The *Spanish* Name, *Desemboltura*, partly expresseth them, when there be not Stands nor Restiveness in a *Man's Nature*, but that the Wheels of his *Mind* keep way with the Wheels of his *Fortune.*

Lord Bacon.

It cannot be denyed, but outward accidents conduce much to *Fortune:* Favour, Opportunity, Death of others, Occasion fitting Virtue. But chiefly the mould of a *Man's Fortune* is in his own hands.

Essays, xl. *Of Fortune.*

43.

THERE is a great difference between having Subjects desperate and dissatisfied; because the first think of nothing but the Overthrow of the State, and seek it, though to their own danger; the last, though they be not satis-

fied, and wish for change, yet do not invite the Occasion, but wait till it come.

Machiavelli. . . . it never yet was a wise thing to make men desperate, for one who hath no hope of good hath no fear of evil;

History of Florence, book ii.

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44. PRINCES were never invented for their own sakes, because no man would place himself under a yoke; but for the good of the People, that they should be governed well. Therefore, when a Prince hath more regard to himself than to his People, he is no longer a Prince, but a Tyrant.

45.

AVARICE is beyond comparison more detestable in a Prince than in a private person, not alone because, having greater wealth to distribute, he doth deprive men of so much the more; but also, because what a private man hath is all his own, and for his own use, and he may, without just complaint of any, dispose thereof. But all that a Prince hath is given to him for the use and benefit of others; and therefore keeping it to himself, he doth defraud men, to his great infamy, of what he doth owe to them.

46. I SAY that the Duke of Ferrara, who traffics in Merchandize, doth not only a scandalous thing, but he is a Tyrant, doing that which is the office of private men, and none of his; and he doth wrong his People, as much as they would wrong him if they should want to be meddling with those things which are the office of the Prince *solum.*

Montesquieu. Le Commerce est la profession des gens égaux; et parmi les Etats despotiques, les plus miserables sont ceux où le Prince est Marchand.

Livre v. chap. viii.

IF thou wouldest know what are the thoughts of Tyrants, read attentively Cornelius Tacitus, where he speaks of the last Discourses which Augustus had with Tiberius. The Author, to one who diligently considers him, teaches also, par excellence, how he is to govern himself who lives under a Tyrant. 47.

HOW truly he spoke, who said, *ducunt volentes fata, nolentes trahunt*. We see, every day, so many proofs of this, that I think nothing was ever better said. 48.

49. A TYRANT will use exceeding diligence in studying to know thy mind, that is, if thou art content with thine estate; he will watch thy carriage and behaviour, seeking to learn from them which frequent thee, and proposing divers courses to thee, and requiring thine opinion and judgment. Wherefore, if thou wouldest not have him compass thee, thou must most cautiously beware of the methods he will use, and of using any phrase of suspicion, taking heed how thou dost speak, *etiam* with thine intimates; and conversing, and replying to him so, that he cannot cavil. This is easy to be done, if thou keep always before thee, that he is trying all he can to circumvent and to discover thee.

50.

TO one of great Quality in the State, and who is under the sway of a sanguinary and insolent Tyrant, few rules of any profit can be given, unless it be, to go into a voluntary Exile. But if the Tyrant, either through prudence or through the necessities of his own condition, doth govern himself discreetly, one of great Rank should seek not to be held prompt and high-mettled, but of a quiet temper, neither desirous of a change, if he be not forced upon it. For in such case, the Tyrant will caress thee, and study to give thee no cause for innovation; which he would not do, if he saw thee restless. For then he thinks, that in any case, thou wouldest never keep quiet; and he is compelled continually to study an occasion of destroying thee, to rid himself from suspicion.

51. IT is better, according to what is written above, not to be among the greatest Intimates and Confidents of a Tyrant, because not only will he caress thee, but in many things he is less on the watch against thee than against his own creatures; thus thou dost enjoy his greatness, and in his ruin thou dost thyself grow great. But none can profit by this Maxim, unless he be of great Quality in the State.

52. I SAY that a good Citizen, and one who loves his Country, ought not only to be familiar with a Tyrant for his own safety, because it is a dangerous thing to fall into his suspicion; but also for the good of his

Country; for acting thus, he hath opportunity, through his Counsel and actions, to countenance the good, and to discountenance the evil; and none but fools will condemn him; for great damage would be to the City, and to themselves, if the Tyrant had none but evil Counsellors about him.

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53. THE ambition of Honour and Glory is of great use to the World, because it causes men to conceive and to execute generous and admirable Things. It is not so with the ambition of Greatness, for who makes it his Idol, will have it *per fas et nefas*; and it is the cause of infinite mischiefs. Wherefore we see Princes and others, who have this for their aim, lay no rein upon them-

selves, and sweep away the Life and Fortune of others, if the thought of their Greatness press them on.

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54. THAT was a cruel decree of the Syracusans, which Livy doth record, that even the Daughters of Tyrants should be killed; yet not altogether senseless; for the Tyrant being dead, they which loved his sway would, if they could, make themselves a new one of wax; and it being no such easy matter to procure the same reverence toward a new man, they take shelter under the least relic. Therefore a City, which hath newly escaped from Tyranny, is never sure of its Liberty, if all the Race and progeny of its Tyrants be not destroyed. I speak though but of the men, and not of the women.

Montesquieu.

Les Grecs ne mirent point de bornes aux vengeances qu'ils prirent des tyrans ou de ceux qu'ils soupçonnerent de l'être; ils firent mourir les enfans . . . . . Ils chasserent une infinité de familles. Leur Républiques en furent ébranlées; l'exil ou le retour des exilés furent toujours des époques qui marquerent le changement de la constitution.

Les Romains furent plus sages. Lorsque *Cassius* fut condamné pour avoir aspiré à la tyrannie, on mit en question si l'on feroit mourir ses enfans; ils ne furent condamnés à aucune peine. Livre xii. chap. xviii.

55.

IT has always seemed to me a hard thing to believe, that God would permit the sons of Duke Ludovico (Sforza) to enjoy that State (Milan), when I consider that their Father hath wickedly usurped it; and that his Usurpation was the cause of the ruin and

slavery of Italy, and of such great afflictions as followed to all Christendom.

56. MOCK at those which prate of Liberty, I say not all; yet I except few; for every one of those which should hope to be better in an Arbitrary Government would ride post to it; because almost all men do naturally always set their Interest in the foremost place; and Few are they which know the true worth of Glory and Honour.

57. HE will never wonder at the base and servile temper of our Citizens, who reads in Cornelius Tacitus that the Romans, who conquered the World, and lived so gloriously, were

so vilely abject under the Empire, that Tiberius, who was of a tyrannical and haughty spirit, abhorred their dejection.

Montesquieu.

On ne peut jamais quitter les Romains, comme encore aujourd'hui dans leur Capitale on laisse les nouveaux Palais pour aller chercher des ruines, ou comme l'œil qui s'est reposé sur l'email des prairies aime à voir les rochers et les montagnes. Livre xi. chap. xiii.

Je me trouve fort dans mes maximes, lorsque j'ai pour moi les Romains, ... Livre vi. chap. xv.

Machiavelli.

And in fine, one who shall subtly examine all, will come to this conclusion: If thou dost treat of a Republic, which thou wouldest make an Empire, as Rome . . . . . it is necessary to do every thing as Rome; . . . .

Discourses on Livy, book i. chap. v.

. . . and what was needed in Rome, would be needed in every City that would do the things Rome did, as has been said before, ...

Discourses on Livy, book i. chap. lx.

58. EVEN though a man be a good Citizen, and not tyrannical, *tamen*, when he doth involve himself in such a Government as is this of the Medici, he doth gain the grudge of the People, and come in ill liking; which things are to be avoided, as far as is possible, because of the Accidents which may follow. But I tell thee, that for all this thou must not draw back, and lose those benefits which thou wouldest get thyself through being intimate therein; because, so thou art not counted grasping, and dost not offend any person of importance, or many men, as soon as there be a change of the Government, and the thoughts of the People turned from that thing which made thee odious, thou shalt be freed from other charges, and thine unpopularity shall pass; neither art thou

in that ruin and depression wherein thou didst look to be when the Government should change. For they are passing things, and it cannot be denied, but that thus thou shalt never pluck that Flower which a bolder man would snatch.

. . . out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety. *Shakespeare.*

First Part of King Henry IV. act ii. scene iii.

PRINCE who would deceive another through the means of his Ambassador, must first deceive the Ambassador himself, because he will act and speak more effectually, thinking that such is really the mind of his Prince, than he would do if he believed it to be but feigning. And the same Maxim 59.

is good for every man who would persuade falsely through means of another.

60. WHEN I was Ambassador in Spain to the Court of King Ferdinand of Arragon, who was a wise and glorious Prince, I did observe, that whenever he would undertake any War, or fresh enterprize, or any other affair of importance, he did not use first to make it public, and afterward to justify it; but, on the contrary, he did practise this artifice, that before any thing were justified, which he had in his mind, it should be made public, *the King ought to do this and that, for such and for such a reason;* so, that being afterward made public, which did already appear just and necessary to every man's mind, it is not to be believed

with what favour and praises his resolutions were received.

In things that a Man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of *Cunning* to borrow the name of the World, as to say, *The World says*, or, *There is a Speech abroad.*

Essays, xxii. *Of Cunning.*

Lord Bacon.

61.

IN affairs of War infinite variety doth arise, even from one hour to another; wherefore we are not to be too much elated by prosperous news, neither dejected by adverse, because some change doth frequently happen. But this is to be a lesson, that he who hath an opportunity lose it not, because it lasts but a very little time.

DANS les grandes affaires, on doit moins s'appli-

Roche-foucault.

quer à faire naître des occasions, qu'à profiter de celles qui se présentent.

Reflexions et Maximes Morales. Occasion.

Montesquieu.

Il ne se régloit point sur la disposition actuelle des choses, mais sur un certain modele qu'il avoit pris;

Livre x. chap. xiv. *Charles XII.*

62.

WHEN thou shalt have the opportunity of a thing thou dost desire, lose no time to seize it; for the things of this World change so often, that no man can say he hath a thing until he grasp it. And when any thing which displease thee be proposed, seek to put it off as long as thou art able; for we see every day that Time brings forth chances which may free thee from that trouble; and thus is that saying of

the Sages to be understood, *Profit by Time's vantage.*

FORTUNE is like the *Market*, where many times if you can stay a little the Price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like *Sibylla's* Offer, which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common Verse) *turneth a bald Noddle, after she hath presented her Locks in Front, and no hold taken;* *Essays*, xxi. *Of Delays.* — *Lord Bacon.*

. . . . the Romans never gave heed to what we hear every day on the lips of the wise men of our days, *Profit by Time's vantage;* but indeed to their own courage and prudence, for Time drives every thing before it, and may as well bring evil as good.

The Prince, chap. iii. — *Machiavelli.*

63. THE same Undertakings, which, being entered upon out of Season, are difficult or impossible, being backed by Time and Season, are easily to be accomplished; wherefore they are not otherwise to be attempted; because, if thou dost attempt them out of their proper Season, not only thou failest therein, but dost run great danger that, through having attempted them, thou spoilest them against that Time when they would have been easy. Wherefore, Patience is counted Wisdom.

Machiavelli. . . . . delay loses thee the hour, and haste the power. ***History of Florence***, book ii.

Lord Bacon. THERE is surely no greater Wisdom than well to time the Beginnings and Onsets of Things. . . . . and generally it is good to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions to ***Argus*** with his hundred Eyes, and the ends to ***Briareus***

with his hundred Hands, first to Watch, and then to Speed. *Essays*, xxi. *Of Delays.*

64. BEFORE the Year 1494, at which time the ambition and blindness of Duke Ludovico (Sforza) opened the road to the ruin of Italy, the manner of carrying on War was, as every man doth know, very different from what we presently see. The stormings of Cities were but scratches, the Battles of other sort, and scarce a drop of blood shed; so that if any one had possession of a State it was a hard thing to take it from him. Then it grew to be, that whosoever were Master of the Field had triumphed, as it were, in a moment; and if there were two Armies in the Field, they straight encountered, and the fate of the War was determined. Thus did we

see the Kingdom of Naples and the Dukedom of Milan lost, without breaking a lance, and with the Fortune of one man was played away all the Dominion of the Venetians. Nowadays, Signor Prospero (Colonna) hath first shewed us a different manner of carrying on War, because, by throwing himself into the Towns, he hath overcome his power, who yet was Master of the Field. But this, indeed, would not succeed with one who should not have the People favourably disposed toward him, as he hath had the People of Milan, against the French.

Ariosto.

VEDETE Carlo Ottavo, che discende
Dall' Alpe, e seco il fior di tutta Francia;
Che passa il Liri, el tutto 'l regno prende
Senza mai stringer spada, o abassar lancia,

Orlando Furioso, canto xxxii. stanza xxiv.

IT is good to get all the Securities that can be had from an Enemy, as of the Faith of his Friends, of Promises and of other Sureties; but, through the evil Nature of Men, and the Variations which are in different Times, none other is better, nor more certain, than so to dispose thyself, as that thine Enemy cannot harm thee. 65.

NO mortal thing should Man more desire, neither attribute to a higher Felicity, than to behold his Enemy prostrate upon the Earth, and reduced to such a Condition, that he hath him at his discretion. But the more Felicitous is he to whom this doth chance, the more is he bound to render himself Glorious, by using it in a laudable manner; 66.

that is, to shew Clemency, and to pardon; which is the especial Quality of Generous and Exalted Spirits.*

67. THOSE Undertakings and Affairs, which are not to be expected to fall through any sudden shock, but through consuming and wasting away, draw out to a much greater length than is believed at first; because, when men are obstinately determined to

* This seems to refer to the triumph of the Emperor Charles the Fifth over King Francis the First of France at the Battle of Pavia. The different methods of deriving the utmost possible advantage, from so important a Capture, are discussed at great length by Guicciardini in his History.

endure, they endure and sustain much more than would be believed. Wherefore, we see that a War, which is to be finished by Famine, by Inconveniency, by Lack of Money, or the like, runs on farther than would be believed. As it also happens with one who is dying of a Phthisic, that his Life doth always prolong itself beyond the opinion of the Physicians. Thus a Merchant, before he fails through being consumed by Usury, doth always stand a longer Time than was believed.

. . . . WARS begin when you will, but they do not end when you please. *Machiavelli.*

History of Florence, book iii.

68. I COMMEND him who stands Neutral in the Wars of his Neighbours, if he be so powerful, or hath his Dominions of such Condition, as that he hath nothing to fear from the Conqueror; because he doth thus avoid Peril, Expenses, and Exhaustion, and the Disorders of the others may afford him some profitable Opportunity. Except it be with these conditions, Neutrality is foolishness, because binding thyself to one of the parties, thou dost run no danger but the Victory of the other, but standing between, thou art always bruised, conquer who will.

Machiavelli. For the Conqueror doth not care for doubtful friends, who will not help him in his need; and the Loser will not welcome thee, when thou wouldest not take arms, and run his risks.

The Prince, chap. xxi.

69.

NO Rank or Authority whatsoever doth, in my judgment, require greater prudence, neither more excellent qualities, than that of the Captain of an Army; because the Things for which he hath to provide are infinite in number, and infinite are those accidents and chances which offer themselves from one hour to another, so that he hath need of more eyes than Argus; and not solely for the importance of the thing, but for the prudence which it doth demand, I hold every other charge as nothing.

Montesquieu.

DANS le Gouvernement despotique, le *Pouvoir* passe tout entier dans les mains de celui à qui on le confie.

. . . . . .

Enfin la Loi étant la volonté momentanée du Prince, il est nécessaire que ceux qui veulent pour lui, veuillent subitement comme lui.

Livre v. chap. xvi.

70. ANY one who hath the charge of a Town which is expecting to be assaulted, or besieged, should put his chief trust in such remedies as draw out the time, and set great store upon every thing which may delay, *etiam* but for a little, the Enemy, because often one day, or one hour, brings some chance which may deliver it.

71. AS Merchants do most times break, and Seamen drown, so an ill end is often his who governs long.

72.

THAT is a true saying, and one greatly applauded among the ancients, *Magistratus virum ostendit;* because, by the virtue of this touchstone, not only is known if the man be worth much, or but little; but through the power and licence which he hath, the inclinations of his soul are discovered, that is, of what nature a man be; because the greater any one is, so much the less bridle and restraint hath he from yielding to what is most natural to him.

73.

IF a man desire to be beloved by those who are greater than himself, he must shew himself full of regard and reverence toward them, and herein be rather abounding than scanty. For nothing is more offensive to a Superior

than its seeming to him that there be not that obedience, and regard, and reverence rendered to him, which he doth judge his due.

74. STUDY not to fall into the ill opinion of him who is greater than thyself in thy Country; neither put confidence in the good government of thy life, that it be such, that thou think thou shalt never fall into his hands; because, sometime, infinite and unthought for chances shall arise, wherein thou shalt have need of him; and *e converso*, he who is greater than thee, if he have a mind to chastise thee, and to revenge himself, will not do it with precipitation, but will wait for Time and the Hour; which, without any doubt, will come in such wise, that without shewing himself malicious, or pas-

sionate, he shall be able fully to satisfy his intent.

THERE is no man in the World but doth fall into errors, from which comes the greater or the lesser hurt, according to the accidents and chances which follow; but good luck have they, which stumble upon error in things of lesser importance, or from which doth follow lesser disorder. 75.

IT is incredible of how great benefit it is, to one who hath the Administration of Things, that his affairs be kept secret, because not only his Designs, being known, may be prevented and interrupted; but also the being 76.

ignorant of his thoughts, makes men continually in marvel and suspense to observe his actions, and on every little motion of his a thousand commentings and interpretings are made, which brings him great reputation. Wherefore, he who is in such Station, should use his Ministers to be silent, not only of such Things as would do hurt if they were known, but also of such as would do no good if they were made public.

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77. HINGS not determined upon in our thoughts, damage us more, beyond all bound, than those which are foreseen. Wherefore I call that Mind truly great and skilful, which, having the charge of Affairs, is not terrified by sudden accidents, and instant dangers;

which, in my mind, is scarce ever to be found.

THE right Knack of Living resembles Wrestling more than Dancing: For here a Man does not know his Movement and his Measures beforehand: No, He is obliged to stand strong against Chance, and secure himself as occasion shall offer. *Marcus Antoninus.*

Meditations, book vii. lxii. *Collier.*

LET him who would be employed beware of letting the possession of Business be drawn away from him; for one thing doth give occasion to another, and this not only, because from one thing, thou dost naturally step on to another; but because of the reputation, which being seen occupied in Affairs shall bring thee. Wherefore the proverb is 78.

here also proper; one thing is Father to another.

M. Talleyrand.

"Toutes mutations," dit Machiavel, "fournissent de quoi en faire une autre." Ce mot est juste et profond.

Essai sur les Avantages à retirer de Colonies Nouvelles, dans les Circonstances présentes. 1796.

79.

I HAVE constantly observed this method, in my divers Governments, that, when a Cause hath been brought before me, which, for some sufficient reason, I was desirous to accommodate, I did never speak of accommodation; but interposing different delays and obstacles, I caused that the parties themselves did seek it; thus, in due time, I have been besought for that very thing,

which, if I had proposed it at the first, had been rejected.

Il est bon quelquefois que les Lois ne paroissent pas aller si directement au but qu'ils se proposent. Livre v. chap. v. — *Montesquieu.*

. . . . . dans ce cas, une disposition indirecte marque plus le bon esprit du Législateur, qu'une autre qui frapperoit sur la chose même. Livre xxv. chap. v.

Understanding does not always drive onward like an Arrow. The Mind sometimes by making a Halt, and going round for Advice, hits the Mark much better, than if she had let fly directly upon it. *Meditations*, book viii. lx. *Collier.* — *Marcus Antoninus.*

80. IT is no great matter, if a Governor, by often using sharpness, or acts of severity, doth make himself feared; because his subjects are readily afraid of him, who hath power to smite and to destroy them; and is sudden and sharp in execution; but I give praise to those Governors, who, though they seldom practise severity, are yet ever looked upon as terrible.

Montesquieu. UN Législateur prudent prévient le malheur de devenir un Législateur terrible.

Livre xv. chap. xv. *Précautions à prendre dans le Gouvernement modéré.*

81.

I HAVE desired Honour and Profit, as other men do, and until now, I return thanks to God, and to my good Fortune, I have gained even more than I sought for. *Et tamen* when I have obtained that, which I did desire, I have not experienced any of those enjoyments and satisfactions therein, which I had imagined to myself; which, if it were well considered, is enough to extinguish many of the desires of men.

Rochefoucault.

AVANT de désirer fortement une chose, il faut examiner quel est le bonheur de celui qui la possède. *Maximes Morales. Désir.*

82. GREATNESS of Degree is universally desired, because all the benefit which is therein, is outward and visible, and the evil lurks inwardly, which, if a man should see, perhaps he would not have so great a longing, for it is doubtless a state full of perils and suspicions, and of a thousand troubles and labours. But what perhaps doth make it desirable, *etiam* to lofty Minds, is the longing to be superior to other men; which is certainly a blessed and glorious thing, regard being had, especially, that in no other thing can we more resemble God.

83.

THINGS, which are desired by the general, do scarce ever happen. The reason of this is, that it is the Few, which commonly give the turn to Affairs, and little will have they, to what the Many wish.

Mr. Burke.

ALL direction of public humour and opinion must originate in a few.

. . . . . .

I never yet knew an instance of any general temper in the nation, that might not have been tolerably well traced to some particular persons.

Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 48—49. *Letter to the Marquess of Rockingham.*

84. GIVE no credit to those who prate of loving quiet, and of being weary of Ambition, and of having forsaken Affairs, for they think almost always the contrary in their hearts, and if they be reduced to a private and quiet life, it is either through rage, or through necessity, or through folly. We see example of this every day; for let but any, the least loophole of greatness be opened to them, and these men will forsake the quiet they chant so loudly; and rush upon it as headlong, as fire does on dry wood.

85.

INFINITE variety is in the Natures and Thoughts of men; so that nothing so extravagant, nor so contrary to reason can be imagined, but that it shall jump with some man's wit. Therefore when thou shalt hear it said, that one hath done or said something which doth not appear to thee likely, neither that it could come into any man's conceit, do not lightly scoff at it; because what doth not square with thy fancy, can readily find some one, to whom it shall please, or appear reasonable.

M. Talleyrand.

On dit proverbialement qu'il ne faut pas disputer sur les faits. Si ce proverbe parvient un jour à être vrai, il restera bien peu de disputes parmi les hommes.

Mémoire sur les Relations Commerciales des Etats-Unis avec l'Angleterre. 1796.

86. WE have had two Popes very different in Nature, Julius (the Second) and Clement (the Seventh): one of a Soul vast, or rather unbounded, impetuous, rash, and bountiful; the other of a Spirit mediocre, or rather timorous, patient, moderate, and sparing; one, frank; the other, feigning; and nevertheless, to Natures so contrary, the like Effects and great Actions do belong. The reason is, that men's Patience and Impetuosity both suffice to bring forth great things; because the one doth operate through jostling men and wrenching things; the other through wearying them out, and conquering with Time and the Hour; wherefore, wherein one is hurtful, the other is useful, and thus *e converso*. And whoever should be able to unite them, and to use each in its season, would be Divine.

But, as this is difficult, or rather impossible, I think, that *omnibus computatis*, the Patience and Moderation of Clement are to be more praised, in conducting things of the highest importance, than the Impetuosity and Precipitation of Julius. Of Liberality and of Avarice I do not speak, because this falls within every man's judgment.

87.

TIME was, when I thought I should never see, *etiam* by much thinking, what I saw not at once; but Experience hath shewed me this to be most false; wherefore mock at whoever shall tell thee otherwise. For the more thou dost toss and turn things in thy mind, the better are they planned, and put into Action.

Lord Bacon.

THINGS will have their first or second agitation; if they be not tossed upon the Arguments of *Counsel*, they will be tossed upon the waves of *Fortune*. *Essays*, xx. *Of Counsel.*

88.

THERE are some wise persons who are naturally inclined to hope for that which they desire; others never credit it, until they be thoroughly certified; and doubtless it is better in such cases to hope little than much; because Hope doth make thee slacken thy diligence, and brings thee the greater displeasure if the thing do not come to pass.

89.

THE Fortune of Things of the greatest importance doth often hang upon doing, or leaving undone, a Thing which seems very small. Wherefore, *etiam* in little Things, we are to be wary, and well-advised.

90.

IT is an easy thing to ruin thyself when thou art well, a difficult one to bring thyself back again. Wherefore one that hath Good Fortune in his hand must grasp it tightly, that he open not, and so it flee.

91. IT is a mad thing to be wrath with those persons who are so great as that thou canst have no hope of revenging thyself upon them; wherefore, although thou thinkest thyself wronged by such, thou must bear and dissemble.

92. FRANK and liberal Nature doth please universally, and it is in itself a generous thing; yet sometime it doth hurt a man; on the other hand, dissimulation is useful; but it is odious, and hath a taste of baseness, and is only needful through the evil Natures of others. Wherefore, I know not, which is to be chosen; I think, that the one may be used ordinarily, and yet the other not abandoned, that is, in thine ordinary and common course of living, to

use the first in such wise, as that thou gainest the name of frankness; and, nevertheless, in certain cases of importance, to use dissimulation, which is so much the more useful, and doth succeed the better, to one who doth thus live, inasmuch as, through having a name for the contrary, it is more easily believed in him. In conclusion, I do not applaud him who lives continually in dissimulation and with artifice; but I excuse him who doth sometime use it.

. . . . clear and round dealing is the Honour of Man's Nature; and that mixture of Falsehood is like Alloy in Coin of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metal work the better, but it embaseth it. *Essays*, i. *Of Truth.* — *Lord Bacon.*

Les plus habiles affectent toute leur vie de blâmer les finesses, pour s'en servir en quelque grande occasion, et pour quelque grand intérêt. *Maximes Morales. Finesse.* — *Rochefoucault.*

Machiavelli.

. . . for there is so great a difference between the way people do live and the way they ought to live, that a man who leaves what is done for what ought to be done, rather learns his loss than his safety; . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Wherefore a Prince who will hold his station, must learn ability of evil, and use it or not according to need. *The Prince*, chap. xv.

. . . courses of craft and courses of confidence seem good in the beginning, yet are they difficult to guide, and dangerous to end.

History of Florence, book iv.

Montesquieu.

On a commencé à se guérir du Machiavélisme, et on s'en guérira tous les jours . . . . Ce qu'on appelloit autrefois des coups d'Etat ne seroit aujourd'hui, indépendamment de l'horreur, que des imprudences.

Livre xxi. chap. xvi.

A MAN who doth not care to be good, but yet doth desire a good reputation, must needs be good; it is impossible, otherwise, that he be long counted good. 93.

L'ESPRIT ne sauroit jouer long-tems le personnage du cœur. *Maximes Morales. Cœur.* *Rochefoucault.*

IF any one give thee dissatisfaction, endeavour all thou art able that he may not be aware thereof, because being aware, he will quickly be alienated from thee; and many Times and Occasions will come wherein he may serve thee, and would serve thee, if, through shewing thou hadst an ill opinion of him, thou hadst not driven him away. I have 94.

experienced this to my great benefit; for sometime I have had ill will toward some one, who, not being aware thereof, hath afterward in some occasion helped me, and hath stood my friend.

95. ENDEAVOUR to gain thyself Friends, for they are good in places, times, and chances which thou wouldest never have thought of; and though this Maxim be of the Vulgar, yet none can thoroughly consider the value thereof, but he who hath chanced in his need to feel it by experience.

BEWARE of every thing which may do thee hurt, and can do thee no good; wherefore, neither in absence, neither in presence of another, ever say, without necessity, things which may displease him; because it is foolishness to make enemies without purpose; and I give thee this Maxim, because scarce any one but errs in this childishness. 96.

CERTAINLY we should look to Deeds, and not to Words, and to the superficials of benevolence; and nevertheless, it is incredible what love and favour, caresses and gentleness of speech will conciliate thee among men; and I think the reason to be, because 97.

every man doth rate himself, and it seems to him that he doth deserve more than his worth; and therefore he is wroth when he sees that thou dost not make such account of him as seems to him is his due.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

. . . . civility costs nothing, and buys every thing . . . . *Letter to Lady Bute.*

98.

NEVER contend with the Church, nor with such things as seem to depend upon God; because here the power over men's minds is too strong.

Montesquieu.

CAR comme l'accusation ne porte pas directement sur les actions d'un Citoyen, mais plutôt sur l'idée que l'on s'est faite de son caractere, elle devient dangereuse à proportion de l'ignorance du peuple; Livre xii. chap. v.

LES Loix ne se chargent de punir que les actions extérieures.

Livre xii. chap. xi. *Des Pensées.*

. . . . la justice humaine, qui ne voit que les actions, n'a qu'un pacte avec les hommes, qui est celui de l'innocence; la justice divine qui voit les pensées, en a deux, celui de l'innocence et du repentir. Livre xxv. chap. xi. — *Montesquieu.*

. . . . des Magistrats, qui n'estant pas juges des cas de conscience, n'ont proprement interest qu'à la pratique exterieure. *Les Provinciales*, xiii. — *Pascal.*

. . . . the best ground, and the only ground to be defended in all points is that *action* not *principle* is the object of law and legislation; . . . . *Mr. Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. ii. v. 2. — *Mr. Fox.*

IT is an honourable thing to a man to promise nothing but what he is determined to observe, yet commonly all those whom thou deniest, *etiam* justly, are dissatisfied; because men do not allow reason to have their govern- — 99.

ance. The contrary happens to him who doth promise; because many chances intervene, which occasion that there is no need to make proof of what thou hast promised; and thus thou hast given satisfaction as to the will, and if, indeed, it doth come to the deed, often excuses are not wanting; and many have so coarse a wit, that they will let themselves be juggled with words. Nevertheless, it is so base a thing to fail in a man's word, that this doth overbalance every utility which may be drawn from the contrary. And therefore a man ought to endeavour to amuse as much as he can with general replies, and those full of good hope; but of such sort, as that they do not positively oblige him.

Montesquieu.

Lorsque Louis XIII. voulut être Juge dans le Procès du Duc de *la Valette*, ... le Pré-

sident de *Believre* dit, ... qu'on ne devoit sortir que content de devant le Prince.

Livre vi. chap. v.

. . . . and men are so simple, ... that he who will deceive will always find him who will let himself be deceived. *Machiavelli.*

The Prince, chap. xviii.

CAR le monde se paye de paroles: peu approfondissent les choses: *Pascal.*

Les Provinciales, ii.

CHOEVER is besought by his Friend to help him in his desire, if he doth demonstrate the difficulties which are in being able to gain him the thing desired, though they be true, and he answer that he is willing to make every possible exertion, he doth cause that his Friend, most times, begins 100.

to think that he hath no mind to serve him. The contrary happens to one who is liberal of Hopes and Proffers, for he doth gain more, though no Performance follow. Thus we see, that he who governs himself with artifice, or rather to say with some caution, is the more acceptable, and doth prosper the more; neither doth this proceed from any thing but the greater part of men being ignorant of the World; so that they are easily deceived in that which they desire.

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101. WHOEVER doth converse with the Great, must not let himself be led away by their superfluous and superficial caressings and demonstrations, with which they commonly make men dance as they list, and stifle them

with their favour. And the more it is difficult to defend thyself from this, the more must thou restrain thyself, and through holding thyself firm, not let thyself lightly be led.

NO greater enemy hath a man than himself; because almost all the evils, perils, and superfluity of trouble that he hath proceed from nothing but his own over-seeking. 102.

. . . . un Prince qui ne connut jamais sa force ni sa foiblesse; . . . . . *Louis le Débonnaire* . . . . . Livre xxxi. chap. xx. *Montesquieu.*

103. THE love of wealth arises but from a base and ill-regulated soul, if it be coveted for nothing more than to enjoy thereof; but the way of the World being so corrupted, he who doth covet reputation is compelled to covet wealth; because with this *virtues shine, and are in fashion; which in a poor man are little prized, and less known.*

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104. THOU canst choose no better part than to reverence thine Honour; for he who doth this shall fear no evil, and shall do no baseness. Wherefore keep this Saying as thy Life, and it shall be, as it were, a Thing impossible but that all shall go well with thee. *Expertus loquor.*

Soe, gyff thou lovest Pleasure and herr trayne,
Onknowlachynge ynn whatt place herr to fynde,
This rule yspende, and ynn thie mynde retayne;
Seeke Honnoure fyrste, and Pleasaunce lies behynde.
Rowley's Poems. The Tournament.

Chatterton.

105.

IT is not in every man's power to choose the Rank and the Employment which he would have; but thou must often do what thy Fate shall offer to thee, and what is conformable to the Condition in which thou art born. Wherefore all the Honour doth consist in doing well that which thou hast to do; as in a Play, he is not less commended who doth truly represent the person of a Servant, than he who doth wear upon his back the trappings of a King, or of some other great person. In fine, it is in every

man's power, in his own place, to gain himself Praise and Honour.

106. THERE doth lie a great difference between a man who is valiant and one who will not flee from danger, through regard for his Honour. Both know the danger; but the first is confident in being able to defend himself therefrom, and, but that he had this confidence, he would not face it; the second, it may be, doth fear more than is due, yet doth he stand firm, because he is resolute rather to choose destruction than shame.

IT is a good way, for one who would procure favours, to speak of making those persons, from whom thou wouldest procure the favour, the Heads and Authors of the Thing whereof thou hast need; for the most part of men, captivated by that Vanity or Ambition, grow so fond thereof, that, forgetting the contrary considerations, though they be of greater weight and urgency, they begin to countenance that, which otherwise they would have altogether discountenanced. 107.

USE all such Persons as affect the business, wherein they are imployed, for that quickeneth much. *Essays*, xlvii. *Of Negociating*. *Lord Bacon.*

108. HE who doth enter upon Danger, without consideration of the fierceness and nature thereof, hath in him of the nature of the brute; but he is truly valiant, who, knowing the Danger, doth enter thereupon boldly, either through necessity, or for some honourable cause.

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109. MANY think that a wise man, because he doth perceive all Dangers, cannot be valiant. I am of the contrary opinion, that he cannot be wise, who is not valiant; because his judgment is weak who doth rate future Dangers higher than is due. But, peradventure, this Saying is dark. I say, that it is to be considered, that not every Danger doth come to pass; because some, a man

shall avoid through his diligence, and industry, and boldness; others, the very nature of the case, and a thousand other accidents which arise, disperse. Wherefore, he who is aware of the Dangers, is not to reckon up every one, and to suppose beforehand that all are to come to pass, but reasoning prudently wherein he may hope to help himself, and wherein it is likely that the nature of the case may favour him, is to take courage, neither to draw back from apparent and honourable enterprises, through fear of every Danger which he doth know to be upon the road.

SEND danger from the east unto the west, *Shakespeare.*
So honour cross it from the north to south,
And let them grapple:——
First Part of King Henry IV.
act i. scene iii.

ALL the armed Prophets conquered, all the unarmed perished. *The Prince,* chap. vi. *Machiavelli.*

110. IT doth frequently happen in a Resolution, which hath reason on all sides, that though a man have diligently considered, after that he hath taken his Resolution, it doth seem to him that he hath chosen the worser part. The reason is, that after that thou hast resolved, those reasons only which were on the other side do present themselves to thy fancy, which, being considered without the Counterpoise of the others, appear to thee more weighty, and of greater consequence than they did before thou didst resolve. The remedy for freeing thyself from this molestation is to constrain thyself to go over again all the reasons, which be *hinc inde;* because this concurrence and contrariety, which thou dost represent to thyself, causes, that

those reasons which are granted, do not appear to thee of greater weight nor importance than they really be.

III.

A MAN who hath no natural prudence, cannot govern himself without Counsel; yet it is full of danger to him to take it; because one who gives Counsel, hath often more consideration of his own interest, than of him who asks it; rather doth he prefer every little regard and satisfaction of his own to the interest, though it be most weighty and important, of the other. Wherefore I say, that in such case, a man hath great need to light on faithful Friends; otherwise he doth run risk of doing badly in taking Counsel; and badly and worse doth he in taking it not.

Dante.

——— come colui che brama,
Dubitando, consiglio da persona
Che vede, e vuol dirittamente, ed ama:
Del Paradiso, canto xvii.

Lord Bacon.

The *Inconveniences* that have been noted in calling and using *Counsel*, are three: First, the revealing of Affairs, whereby they become less secret. Secondly, the weakening of the Authority of Princes, as if they were less of themselves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully *Counselled*, and more for the good of them that *Counsel*, than of him that is *Counselled*. For which *Inconveniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and practice of *France* in some Kings' times, hath introduced *Cabinet Councils;* a Remedy worse than the Disease. *Essays*, xx. *Of Counsel.*

Rochefoucault.

Ce qui fait que l'on est souvent mécontent de ceux qui négocient, est qu'ils abandonnent presque toujours l'intérêt de leurs amis, pour l'intérêt du succès de la négociation, qui devient le leur par l'honneur d'avoir réussi en ce qu'ils avoient entrepris.
Maximes Morales. Négociations.

THE Things of this World are so varying, and hang upon so many Chances and Accidents, that we can hardly judge of the Future; and we see by Experience, that the guesses of the wise are scarce ever right. Wherefore I do not commend the Counsel of those who abandon the enjoyment of a present Good, though it be lesser, through the fear of a future Evil, though it be greater, if it be not very speedy and very certain; because, that oftentimes not happening afterward, which thou didst fear, thou hast lost what thou lovedst, for a vain fear. Wherefore is the proverb a wise one. One Thing is Father to another. 112.

IT is loss also in business to be too full of *respects*, or to be too curious in observing Times and Opportunities. *Solomon* saith, *He that considereth the Wind shall not Sow, and* *Lord Bacon.*

he that looketh to the Clouds shall not Reap. A wise Man will make more opportunities than he finds.

Essays, lii. *Of Ceremonies and Respects.*

113. WHOSOEVER would determine upon the part he is presently to act, by looking into how Things shall go in the Future, is often wrong, when he makes calculation such a Thing shall go in such or in such a way. For by the variousness which is in the Things and Accidents of the World, there doth often come into the Field a third, or a fourth case, that never was considered of, nor would hardly have been imagined that it could be.

114.

I HAVE often seen one in the wrong, who passed judgment on affairs of State; because he doth examine what such or such a Prince should reasonably do; and doth not consider, what, for example, the King of France will do. Regard is to be had rather to the nature and custom of such, or of such a Nation, than to what a Prince should do, who were prudent, or resolute, etc.

Montesquieu.

Eh! il est admirable de voir un Historien juger de ce que les hommes ont fait, par ce qu'ils auroient dû faire! Avec cette maniere de raisonner, il n'y auroit plus d'Histoire.

Livre xxxi. chap. xvi.

115. WHOSOEVER upon any accident should take the judgment of a wise man, upon the effects which should arise therefrom, would find, when he came to look at it again in process of time, as few things come true as we find, at the end of the year, in the Schemes of the Astrologers.

116. GREAT luck have the Astrologers, who, though theirs be but a vain Science, either through defect of the Art, or of the men, *tamen* more faith do they get through one true thing, which they prognosticate, than they lose by a hundred false, which they said first. And, nevertheless, the contrary doth happen to other men, for through

one falsehood which is proved upon a man, people are slow to believe him, though he speak never so truly. This perhaps doth only proceed from the great desire which men have to know the Future; of which, having no other means of gaining certainty, they readily believe whosoever doth profess to be able to tell it them, as a sick man the Physician, who doth promise him health.

A PRINCE who should wish to take away the credit of the Astrologers, which print their Universal Schemes, would have no more easy method than to command, that when their Scheme for the coming Year be printed, the Scheme for the last Year be printed with it. Because people, when 117.

they read over again how little they have hit of the Past, would be constrained to give no faith to what they say of the Future; whereas reading only the Future, and having forgotten the falsehoods of the Past, the natural curiosity which people have to know what is to come to pass, doth readily incline them to lend them faith.

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118. DRIVATE men can hardly either blame or praise many actions of Princes, not only from not being acquainted with Things as they are, and their interests and ends being unknown to them; but also, because the difference there is between having a head used to the Commerce of Princes and to the Commerce of private men, causes, that though

the state of the Things, and ends, and interests were as well known to one as to the other, the Conditions are yet very divers; and Things are looked at with a different eye, and judged of with a different judgment; and, in fine, one doth mete them with a different measure to the other.

HE is often deceived who takes his resolution upon the first Advices of Things which come; because they come always with more fire and fury than the effects afterwards make good. Wherefore let him who is not compelled, wait always the second Advices, and so on with the others. 119.

——— i' leva'n su l'ardita faccia, *Dante.*

. . . . . .

Come fa'l merlo per poca bonaccia.

Del Purgatorio, canto xiii. line 121.

120. WHEN no man can tell me the Author of the Tidings, and they be likely, or such as are looked for, I give them little faith; because men readily invent that which is expected, or is credited. I give more ear to any strange or unlooked for Tidings, because men are less apt to invent, or to persuade themselves of that, which is in no man's thoughts. I have many times seen proof of this.

Machiavelli. . . . . in war no enterprize is so easy to you, as one the enemy thinks impossible.

History of Florence, book v.

IT is impossible that any man, though he be of an admirable wit, and hath a natural good judgment, can reach to and thoroughly understand certain particulars; and for this is Experience necessary, which, and none other, doth teach them. And he will best understand this Maxim who shall have managed many Affairs; because Experience herself will have taught him how good and precious a thing she is. 121.

NONE can judge well of Things of importance who doth not throughly know all the particulars; because often one circumstance, and that the least, doth alter the whole case. Yet I tell thee, that one doth often judge 122.

well, who is only acquainted with the generals; and the same man shall judge worse when he hath heard the particulars; because, if a man's head be not very sound, and free from passions, he is readily confused, and doth vary, hearing many particulars.

Madame de Stael.

Un jour ou dix ans, voilà ce qu'il faut pour connoître les hommes; les intermédiares sont trompeurs.

Notice sur le Caractère et les Ecrits de Madame de Stael. Par Madame Necker de Saussure, p. 223.

123.

OBSERVE diligently Things Past, because they throw great light upon Things to Come; *cum sit*, that the World be always of the same nature, and that all which is, and

shall be, hath been before; because the same Things do return, but under divers names and colours. And yet not every man doth know them again, but only one who is wise, and doth consider them diligently.

Marcus Antoninus.

By looking back into History, and considering the Fate and Revolutions of *Government*, you will be able to draw a Guess, and almost Prophecy upon the Future. For things *Past*, *Present*, and to *Come*, are strangely Uniform, and of a Colour; and are commonly cast in the same Mould. So that upon the Matter, Forty Years of Humane Life may serve for a Sample of Ten Thousand.

Meditations, book vii. l. *Collier.*

Lord Bacon.

Solomon saith, *There is no new thing upon the Earth.* So that as Plato had an imagination, *That all knowledge was but a remembrance:* So Solomon giveth his sentence, *That all Novelty is but Oblivion:* Whereby you may see,

That the River of *Lethe* runneth as well above ground as below.

Essays, lviii. *Of Vicissitude of Things.*

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124. IF thou dost observe duly, thou wilt find, that not only terms of speech, and the fashions of dress, and of manners, are changed from one Age to another, but yet what is more, the tastes and inclinations of our minds; and this diversity is seen, *etiam* at the same point of time, between one Country and another, wherein are not only diversities of manners, which may proceed from the diversity of Institutions, but also of tastes in meats, and various appetites of man.

Rochefoucault. Il y a une révolution générale qui change le goût des esprits, aussi bien que les fortunes du monde. *Maximes Morales. Esprit.*

CHE l'uso de' mortali è come fronda
In ramo, che sen va, ed altra viene.
Del Paradiso, canto xxvi. line 137. — *Dante.*

. . . . . les Loix, les mœurs, et les manières, même celles qui paroissent indifférentes, comme la façon de se vêtir, sont aujourd'hui en Orient comme elles étoient il y a mille ans.
Livre xiv. chap. iv. — *Montesquieu.*

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125. THE Things of this World stand not still, rather they are always making toward that path, toward which, by their Nature, they must necessarily go; yet they often tarry longer than thou thinkest; because we measure them according to our Life, which is short, and not according to their Time, which is long; and therefore their steps be slower than ours be, and so slow by their Nature, that

though they move, we often are not aware of their motions; and for this reason the judgments which we make are often false.

Dante.

Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte
Sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna
Che dura molta, e le vite son corte.
Del Paradiso, canto xvi. line 79.

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126. IF it could be known, when a Thing is done, what would have followed if it had not been done, or if the Contrary had been done, we should be aware, doubtless, that many Things which are praised, or blamed by men, deserve a contrary judgment.

127.

THOUGH men do resolve with good Counsel, the End is often ill; so great uncertainty is there in Things Future. Nevertheless we are not to give ourselves up as beasts, as a prey to Fortune, but to walk as men, with the light of Reason. And he who is truly wise will content himself more with having set forward with good Counsel, though the End have been ill, than if the End had been good and the Counsel ill.

Machiavelli.

. . . . . all men being blind in this thing, that they judge good and ill Counsel by the End.

Discourses on Livy, book iii. chap. xii.

128. LET none arrogate to himself Praise, who doth, or doth not, what, omitting or doing, he would deserve Rebuke.

129. THE fruit of a benevolent and admirable Action is not always seen; therefore let him cease to do such who is not satisfied *solum* with doing good for its own sake, seeing no use therein. But herein is no small delusion of men, because acting well, though it should bring thee no other visible fruit, doth spread a good Name and Opinion of thee; which, in many Times and Chances, shall be of incredible use.

DO every thing so thou come not off the Loser, for, though it be no fault of thine, thou shalt always bear the blame; neither can a man go up and down the Piazza to justify himself; as he who doth come off the Winner always bears the Palm, *etiam* without Desert. 130.

ONE that loses a single point, by which he loses credit for conduct, loses all; or at least is in no slight danger. *Mr. Burke.*

Correspondence, vol. i. p. 496. *Letter to the Marquess of Rockingham.*

. . . . . many things, which may be defended, cannot be applauded: *Mr. Charles Butler.*

Reminiscences, vol. i. xii. 2.

USE also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have imployed *Lord Bacon.*

Lord Bacon.

them, for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their Prescription.

Essays, xlvii. *Of Negociating.*

Fortune is to be Honoured and Respected, if it be but for her Daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation:* For those two *Felicity* breedeth; the first, within a Man's self, the latter in others towards him. *Essays*, xl. *Of Fortune.*

Dante.

QUANDO si parte 'l giuoco della zara,
Colui che perde si riman dolente,
. . . . . .
Con l'altro se ne va tutta la gente:

Del Purgatorio, canto vi. line 1.

CANNOT, neither have I the knack thereof, trumpet myself forth, nor give myself the reputation of Things which be not so in truth, and, notwithstanding, it were better for me otherwise; because it is incredible how much the Reputation and Opinion which men have of thy Greatness will avail thee; for with this Rumour alone, they will run after thee, and thou never have to prove it. 131.

OUBTLESS a man doth live more easily in this World, hath a longer life, and may in a certain sense be called happier, who is of a lower spirit than those exalted intellects; because a noble spirit doth serve rather to 132.

the toil and torment than to any repose of its owner. Nevertheless, the one doth partake more of the nature of a brute than of a Man; the second doth pass beyond the rank of Man, and approach rather to the Celestial Nature.

Montesquieu. L'AME goûte tant de délices à dominer les autres âmes; Livre xxviii. chap. xli.

Spenser.

WHOSO in pompe of proud estate (quoth shee)
Does swim, and bathes himself in courtly bliss,
Does waste his daies in dark obscuritee,
And in oblivion ever buried is:
Where ease abounds, it 's eath to doe amiss;
But who his limbs with labours, and his mind
Behaves with cares, cannot so easie miss.
Abroad in armes, at home in studious kind
Who seeks with paineful toile, shall honour soonest find.

In woods, in waves, in warres she wonts to dwell,
And will be found with perill and with paine;

Ne can the man that moulds in idle Cell,
Unto her happy mansion attaine:
Before her gate high God did Sweat ordaine,
And wakefull Watches ever to abide:
But easie is the way, and passage plaine
To Pleasure's palace; it may soone be spide,
And day and night her dores to all stand open wide.

The Faery Queen, book ii. canto iii. stanzas 40, 41.

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133. HE doth err who says, *Letters and studies waste men's brain;* for it may perhaps be true where it is not sound; but where Letters find Nature good, they make her perfect. For Natural Talents, joined to Talents which a man may get, do make an admirable mixture.

134. I HAVE often said, and I do say it again, that an Apt Spirit, which knows how to use Time, hath no cause to lament the shortness of Life; because it may give itself to an infinite number of Things, and spend Time usefully; and this makes Time longer.

Dante. CHE 'l perder tempo a chi più sa più spiace.
Del Purgatorio, canto iii. line 78.

Lord Bacon. A MAN that is *Young* in *Years*, may be Old in Hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely.
Essays, xlii. *Of Youth and Age.*

135. THOU, who dost follow a Court Life, and attach thyself to a Great Man, and dost desire to be employed by him in Affairs, endeavour continually to keep in his sight, because occasions hourly arise, which he doth commit to him whom he sees, and who is nearest to him; for if he had to seek thee, or to wait for thee, he would not commit it to thee. And whosoever doth lose a Beginning, though it be small, doth often lose the introduction and admittance to great Things.

136. THE Castilian proverb says, *The cord breaks where it is weakest.* The weakest doth always succumb, whenever he would come into concurrence or competition with him who is more powerful, or is held in more honour than himself, notwithstanding that reason, or honour, or gratitude doth demand otherwise; because more regard is commonly had to Interest than to Conscience.

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137. MEN'S memories are more tenacious of Injuries than of Benefits received; rather, when indeed they remember a Benefit, they make it lesser in their fancy than it be, reputing themselves to deserve more than they do. It falls out the contrary with an Injury,

for it doth smart more in every man than is reasonable it should. Wherefore, other things being equal, beware of doing those pleasures, which of necessity occasion an equal displeasure to another; because, for the reason given above, more is lost on the whole matter than is gained.

AND he who thinks that Great Persons forget old Injuries for new Benefits, deceives himself. *The Prince*, chap. vii. — *Machiavelli.*

. . . . never were old Injuries cancelled by new Benefits. *Discourses on Livy*, book iii.

HOU mayest count more certainly upon one who hath need of thee, or that hath a common interest in the Thing, than upon one whom thou hast benefited; because we see by Experience, that men are not grateful. — 138.

Wherefore in making thy calculations, and in reckoning upon disposing of men, count more upon him who doth gain by it, than upon him who is only to be moved through remuneration; for in fine, Benefits are not remembered.

Lord Bacon. It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite than with those that are where they would be. *Essays*, xlvii. *Of Negociating.*

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139. I HAVE given thee these Maxims that thou mayest know how to live wisely, and the true worth of Things, but not to the end that thou shouldest draw back from conferring of Benefits; because, beside that it is a generous thing, and doth proceed from a good disposition, we also see that some time some Benefit is remunerated, and

even often in such sort as doth pay for many; and we may believe, that noble Actions are pleasing to that Power which is above Men, and therefore it doth not consent that they be always without fruit.

THESE Maxims are Rules, which, in some special case, wherein the reason of the Thing is different, have their exception; but which those special cases be can scarce be learned but by discretion. 140.

C'EST un grand mal de suivre l'exception au lieu de la règle. Il faut être sévère et contraire à l'exception. Mais néanmoins, comme il est certain qu'il y a des exceptions de la règle, il faut en juger sévèrement, mais justement. *Pascal.*

Pensées, Première Partie, Article x. viii.

141. REMEMBER what I did formerly tell thee of these Maxims, that they are not always to be observed without distinction; but in some special case, wherein the reason of the Thing is different, they are not good. And which these cases be, cannot be comprehended by any Rule; neither is there any Book which doth teach them; but this must come to thee first from Nature, and afterward from Experience.

142. IF Servants were discreet and grateful, it were according to honour and to justice that Masters did every thing for them in their power; but since they are most commonly of other sort, and when they wax fat, either

forsake thee or waste thee, it is better to keep a close hand toward them, and entertaining them with Hope, give them so much of Performance as may suffice that they do not despair.

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143. THE Maxim above must be employed in such wise that men fly thee not, through thy getting the name of being slow to Benefit; and this is easily provided against, by benefiting some one in an extraordinary manner; because Hope hath naturally so great an empire over men, that one whom thou hast benefited shall make more for thee with others, and shall be a greater example than a hundred to whom thou hast given no remuneration.

On ne reconnoît quelquefois un bienfait que

Roche-foucault. pour établir sa réputation, et pour être plus hardiment ingrat aux bienfaits, qu'on ne veut pas reconnoître.

Maximes Morales. Ingratitude.

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144. EXPERIENCE doth shew, that Masters make little account of their Servants, and for every little conveniency or fancy of their own thrust them on one side. I commend those Servants who, taking example from their Masters, make more account of their own interests than of them. However, I counsel that this be saving always honour and fidelity.

145.* * This Maxim, being almost a repetition of the preceding, is omitted.

THE Master doth know his own Servants less than any man; and so, in proportion, the Ruler his own Subjects; because they do not shew themselves to him the same as they shew themselves to others; but rather seek to cloak themselves to him, and to appear of other sort than they be in truth. 146.

TO be on a good understanding with Brethren and Relations is the cause of infinite advantages which thou art not aware of, because they do not shew themselves one by one; and through consideration thereof, thou shalt have infinite profit and good; wherefore thou oughtest to observe this rule, *etiam* with some inconveniency to thyself; and 147.

on this point men are often deceived, because they are moved by some little hurt, which is apparent; and do not consider how great and infinite are the advantages which are not visible.

Montesquieu. C'EST que les Loix font souvent de grands biens très-cachés, et de petits maux très-sensibles.

Livre xxvii. chapitre unique.

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148. THE wish to have Children cannot be blamed, because it is natural; yet do I say, that it is a kind of felicity not to have any; for even he who hath wise and virtuous Sons, hath, without doubt, more grief than joy of them. I have seen the example of this in mine own Father, who was held in his day, yea, as an example in Florence, of a Father, whom Heaven had most richly gifted in his Sons.

Think, therefore, how it must be with him who hath evil Sons.

149.

IT is a great charge for one in Florence to have Daughters, for it is a difficult matter to bestow them well; and not to err in the deliberations therefore, it should be necessary to know oneself, and to take a just measurement both of a man's self and of the nature of Things; which would lessen the difficulty; which too great self-presuming, or making an ill judgment on the Nature of the Affair, doth often increase. And I have many times seen, in proof hereof, wise Fathers refuse matches at the first, which afterward, at the last, they have in vain desired; neither for this is a man in any wise to stoop, neither to give them to

the first who shall ask them; nay, this is a thing that doth demand great discretion. And I do well know now, what would be fitting; yet I know not, when I shall come to the business, whether I shall know how to set it forward, and govern it.

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150. INSTRUMENTS are very rarely falsified in the beginning; but after they are complete, as men think, either by treachery, or because in handling Things men perceive what would turn to their account, they try to make the Instruments purport that which they would have them purport. Wherefore when the Instruments are of Things of importance to thee, make it a rule to have them speedily taken and deposited in an authentic form.

I ONCE heard a Friar say, that a man should have more credit from one Ducat kept in his purse than from ten that he should spend. This saying is to be noted, not to the growing sordid, neither to the failing in honourable and reasonable expenses, but as a bridle upon thee from superfluous disbursings. 151.

THE principal thing, in matters of economy, is to cut off all superfluous expenses; but true husbandry, in my mind, doth lie in expending the same money to more vantage than another, and, as the vulgar say, to have four pennies for your groat. 152.

153. THERE is no doubt but that Avarice doth creep the more upon a man the older he doth grow; and the cause is commonly said to be, that his spirit doth decrease; but I think that this reason holds not. For that is a very ignorant old man that doth not see that the older he grows the less need hath he of money; and moreover, I see that the other vices of old men also continually increase. Wherefore I think the true reason to be, that the longer a man lives, the more doth he grow familiar with the Things of this World, *et ex consequenti*, the more doth he love them.

154. THE same reason is cause, that the older a man doth grow the more is Death irksome to him; and more and more, both outwardly and inwardly, doth he live as he were certain never to die.

155. IT is a common belief, and we do also often see experience thereof, that Ill-gotten Riches do not pass beyond the third generation. Saint Augustin says, that God doth permit that he who hath acquired them should enjoy them, in recompense of whatsoever good Deeds he hath done in his life; but that afterward they do not descend much farther, because such is ordinarily the judg-

ment of God toward Ill-gotten Riches. I said once to a Friar, that I thought there was another reason; because he who doth acquire Wealth is commonly nurtured in Poverty, and therefore he loves it, and knows the art of preserving it; but his Sons, who are born and nurtured in Riches, know not what it is to get Wealth, neither having the Art nor method of preserving it, they do readily dissipate it.

Montesquieu.

C'est une très-bonne loi dans une République commerçante, que celle qui donne à tous les enfans une portion égale dans la succession des pères. Il se trouve par-là que quelque fortune que le père ait faite, ses enfans toujours moins riches que lui, sont portés à fuir le luxe, et à travailler comme lui. Livre v. chap. vi.

On voit dans l'Histoire de la Chine, qu'elle a eu vingt-deux dynasties qui se sont succédées, c'est-à-dire qu'elle a éprouvé vingt-deux révo-

lutions générales, sans compter une infinité de particulières. *Montesquieu.*

. . . . . .

La vertu, l'attention, la vigilance sont nécessaires à la Chine; elles y étoient dans le commencement des Dynasties, et elles manquoient à la fin. En effet, il étoit naturel que des Empereurs nourris dans les fatigues de la guerre, qui parvenoient à faire descendre du Thrône une famille noyée dans les délices, conservassent la vertu qu'ils avoient éprouvé si utile, et craignissent les voluptés qu'ils avoient vu si funestes. Mais après ces trois ou quatre premiers Princes, ... ils s'enferment dans le Palais, ... l'Empereur est tué ou détruit par un Usurpateur, qui fonde une famille, dont le troisième ou quatrième successeur va dans le même Palais se renfermer encore. Livre vii. chap. vii.

156. LAY no plans upon what thou hast not in hand, neither spend upon future gains, because many times they do not ensue, and thou dost find thyself involved; and we see that the great Merchants fail most through this, when, through hope of future gain, they enter upon Exchanges, the multiplication whereof is certain, and hath determinate time, but the gains often come not, and are delayed longer than was designed; thus that enterprise which thou hadst entered upon as useful doth prove most hurtful to thee.

157.

KEEP in thy mind, that though he who is gaining gold may expend something more than what he doth gain, *tamen* it is foolishness in him to expend largely upon foundation of his gains, if he have not first gathered a good Capital, because the occasion of gaining doth not endure always; and if while it endure thou hast not taken vantage thereof, when it hath passed, thou dost find thyself as poor as before; and, moreover, thou hast lost thy Time and thine Honour; because, at the last, he is counted but a poor creature who hath had a fair occasion, and hath not known rightly to use it. And keep this carefully in thy mind, for I have seen in my day many split upon this.

158. IT was no easy matter to write these Maxims, yet it is far more difficult to act upon them; because a man doth often know what he will not practise. Wherefore, if thou art willing to profit by them, put a yoke upon thy Nature, for she will not help thee, but Habit will, and with her help, thou shalt do not only these Things, but every thing else, and that without labour, which thy Reason shall command thee.

THE END.

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